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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH.

SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 13, 1917.

Present :

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business :

1. Read resolution of Council passed on 8th November, 1916, appointing Sub-Committee.

2. Read letter written to all Members of Sub-Committee calling for suggestions as to subjects and names of Lecturers.

3. Read letters from Dr. A. Nell and Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekara in reply to No. 2.

4. Drafted letter inviting Lectures to be given, and approved list of those to be asked.

5. Resolved,—That the first lecture of the series be on "Stone Architecture of Ceylon," by Dr. A. Nell, and that it be delivered on March 7, 1917, at 6-40 p.m.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 14, 1917.

Present :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Vice-President.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business :

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 8th November, 1916.

2. Considered and passed the election of the following Members:—

Charles Ernest Jones, B.A., B.Sc., } E. J. Wayland.
C.C.S. : recommended by } Gerard A. Joseph.

Mahasatuhewage Don Martin Silva: } S. C. Obeyesekere.
recommended by } W. A. de Silva.

Jayamuney B. de Silva: recom- } W. F. Gunawardhana
mended by } F. D. Jayasinha.

Siavax Hirji Wadia, B.A., C.C.S. : } Gerard A. Joseph.
recommended by } P. E. Pieris.

3. Laid on the table answers to the Circular letter dated 20th February, 1917, on Popular Lectures.

4. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1917.

Mr. Joseph pointed out that Messrs. W. A. de Silva and R. G. Anthonisz retire by seniority and Messrs. E. W. Perera and D. B. Jayatilaka by least attendance.

Resolved.—That Messrs. W. A. de Silva and R. G. Anthonisz be re-elected and that Messrs. F. Lewis and R. W. Byrde be nominated in place of Messrs. E. W. Perera and D. B. Jayatilaka and that the place of Mr. H. W. Codrington be filled up by Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana.

5. Read and passed the draft of the Annual Report for 1916, subject to a few alterations.

6. Read letter dated the 18th November last from the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., regarding the printing and binding of Andrew's Embassies to Kandy.

It was decided that the matter do stand over.

7. Laid on the table the Report on Mr. W. A. de Silva's Paper entitled: "The Ancient System of Teaching Sinhalese," by Mudaliyárs Simon de Silva and A. Mendis Gunasekara.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted.

SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 27, 1917.

Present:

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last Sub-Committee Meeting held on the 13th February, 1917.

2. Laid on the table answers to the Circular letters on Popular Lectures.

3. Draft letters to Lecturers were approved, and dates of lectures provisionally fixed as follows:—

1. Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., 4th May, 1917.
2. Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., 18th May, 1917.
3. Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S., 1st June, 1917.
4. Rev. Father M. J. Le Goe, M.A., Ph.D., O.M.L., 15th June, 1917.
5. The Hon'ble Mr. T. B. L. Moonemala, 29th June, 1917.
6. Mr. J. G. C. Mendis, M.A., 13th July, 1917.
7. Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S., 27th July, 1917.
8. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., 24th August, 1917.
9. Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S., 7th September, 1917.
10. Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana, 12th October, 1917.
11. Mr. J. S. Coates, 9th November, 1917.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 31, 1917.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. Paul E. Pieris, M.A., L.L.M., C.C.S.,
Vice-President.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Bala- singham.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
N. K. Sri Bharathindra Théro.	Mudaliyár J. P. Obeyesekere.
Sir J. Thomson Broom.	Mudaliyár R. C. Proctor.
Mr. C. H. Collins, C.C.S.	Mr. J. E. Rode.
Mr. G. J. de Silva.	Mr. M. D. M. Silva.
Mr. Allanson H. Gomes.	Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinghe.
Mr. A. P. Gooneratne.	Mudaliyár S. Vythianáthan.
Mr. S. B. Kuruppu.	Mr. Alex. Wickramasinghe.
Mr. F. Lewis.	Mr. C. P. Wijeyeratne.
Mr. A. Mendia.	Mr. A. W. Wijeyesinha.
	Mr. D. S. Wijeyesinha.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last General Meeting held on 1st December, 1916.
2. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph read the

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1916.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1916.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

The Annual General Meeting was held in March, 1916, when the Annual Report was read and a Paper entitled "The Stones of the Navaratna, their Mythical Significance and Superstitious Lore," by Mr. E. J. Wayland, F.R.C.S., was read on his behalf by Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Vice-President.

Three General Meetings of the Society were held during the year. At the General Meeting held on December 1st, at which His Excellency Sir John Anderson, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., L.L.D., Patron of the Society, presided, Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President, delivered a lecture on "The Polonnaruwa Bronzes and Šiva Worship and Symbolism." In October, Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., delivered a lecture on "Ceylon Numismatics."

PUBLICATIONS.

One number of the Journal, Vol. XXIII., No. 67, was issued during the year. It contains in addition to the proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, the following Papers and Notes:—

1. "The date of Buddha's death and Ceylon Chronology," by Mr. John M. Senaveratne.

2. "Notes on an exploration in Eastern Uva, and Southern Panama Pattu," by Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S.

Parts V. and VI. of the Ceylon Notes and Queries were issued during the year. They contain the following:—

In Part V.—1. "Ridí Tiram," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.

2. "Antonio Teixeira," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

3. "Dutch Inscription in Galle Fort, Anthony Johannes," by Mr. F. H. de Vos, J.P.

4. "An ancient name of Northern Ceylon," by Mr. John M. Senaveratne.

5. "A Dutch Educational Report," by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist.

6. "Identification of a site mentioned by Knox," by Mr. C. S. Vaughan, M.A., C.C.S.

7. "Divi Púnáva," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

In Part VI.—1. "Portrait of a Kandyan Queen," by Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.

2. "Mayúra Sandésaya," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.

3. "Garcia de Orta," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

4. "Identity of Waitulya, the Propagandist," by Mr. T. P. Ponnambalam Pillai.

5. "Fa-Hian and the date of Buddha's death," by Mr. John M. Senaveratne.

6. "Dutch Inscription," by Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 447 Members, of whom 47 are Life-Members and 10 Honorary Members. During the past year 18 new Members were elected, viz.: G. E. de Silva, O. E. Goonetilleke, B.A., A. de S. Kanakaratne, E. W. Kannangara, B.A., R. S. Kaushala, B.A., C. Rasanayagam, W. Ratanapála Théro, P. Samuel, B.A., A. Sárálanákára Théro, Leigh Smith, M.A., M. S. V. Somaratana Théro, K. S. Sumédha Théro, K. K. J. A. Sylva, S. Tambyah Pillai, J. N. C. Tiruchelvam, J. H. Vanniasinkam, B.A., M. W. W. Widurupola, S. W. K. Wipulasénasabbhá Théro.

Mr. R. W. Byrde, B.A., L.L.B., C.C.S., Mayor of Colombo and M. Sīri Nānissara Mahá Théro have become Life-Members

DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Messrs. S. D. Mahawalatenne, J.P., U.P.M., R. B. Strickland, M.A.,

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 31, 1917.

Present:

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Mr. Paul E. Pieris, M.A., L.L.M., C.C.S.,
Vice-President.

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singham,
N. K. Sri Bharathindra Théro.
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Mr. C. H. Collins, C.C.S.
Mr. G. J. de Silva.
Mr. Allanson H. Gomes.
Mr. A. P. Gooneratne.
Mr. S. B. Kuruppu.
Mr. F. Lewis.
Mr. A. Mendis.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mudaliyár J. P. Obeyesekere.
Mudaliyár R. C. Proctor.
Mr. J. E. Rode.
Mr. M. D. M. Silva.
Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinghe.
Mudaliyár S. Vythianáthan.
Mr. Alex. Wickramasinghe.
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Mr. A. W. Wijeyesinha.
Mr. D. S. Wijeyesinha.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last General Meeting held on 1st December, 1916.
2. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph read the

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Mr. R. W. Byrde, B.A., L.L.B., C.C.S., Mayor of Colombo and M. Siri Nánissara Mahá Théro have become Life-Members

DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Messrs. S. D. Mahawalatenne, J.P., U.P.M., R. B. Strickland, M.A.,

Sam J. Williamsz, R. A. P. Siriwardana, Barrister-at-Law, E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., Joint Honorary Secretary, and Major Frank Modder.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter joined the Society in 1913, and was elected Honorary Secretary in 1914. At a meeting held on the 27th September, 1916, the Council passed the following resolution on his death:—

“Resolved,—That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society desire to record its deep regret at the death of Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary of the Society for the last three years and its appreciation of his valuable services and untiring zeal and devotion to the welfare of the Society and to offer its sincere condolence to Mrs. Sueter and the other members of the family in their bereavement.”

Major Frank Modder joined the Society in 1890, and became a Life-Member in 1896. He was a man of varied gifts. He was expert with pen and pencil and was an indefatigable writer in all matters affecting the history, languages, literature, arts and social conditions of the people of the Society. He contributed the following Papers to the Society's Journal, viz:—1. “The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunégala” in Vol. XI., No. 40; 2. “Sinhalese Weights and Measures” in Vol. XII., No. 43; 3. “Kurunégala Vistaraaya; with notes on Kurunégala, ancient and modern,” in Vol. XIII., No. 44; 4. “Ancient Cities and Temples in the Kurunégala District” in Vol. XIII., No. 44; Vol. XIV., No. 46, 47; Vol. XV., No. 48; 5. “A Geological and Mineralogical Sketch of the North-Western Province” in Vol. XV., No. 48. He was also the author of a standard work on Kandyan Law, a Manual of the Puttalam District and a Handbook to Kurunégala and its neighbourhood.

RESIGNATIONS.

The following seven Members resigned their Membership, viz:—J. P. Blackmore, E. Burgess, C. B. Cockaine, J. A. Corea, Anagarika Dharmapala, R. C. Kailasapillai, Gate Mudaliyár; W. C. Macready.

The Society has suffered a very great loss by the departure from the Island of Mr. John Harward, M.A. He joined the Society in 1893 and was elected an Honorary Secretary in the same year and continued to serve in that capacity until he was elected President of the Society in 1912. He resigned this office at the beginning of the year to our great regret on his retirement through ill-health from the office of Director of Education preparatory to quitting the Island. In recognition of his invaluable services and unwearied devotion to the Society during a period of 23 years and of his scholarly contributions to our Journal and direction of our Society's work, he was, at a General Meeting held on the 27th March, 1916, elected an Honorary Member under Rule 10, on a motion proposed by Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., and seconded by Dr. A. Nell.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 143. It is indebted for donations to the following:—the Government of India; the Government of Ceylon; the Government of Burma; the Archaeological Survey of India; the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma; the Pali Text Society, London; the Government Oriental Library, Madras; the Punjab Historical Society, India; the Mahabodhi Society; the Forest Department of the Madras Presidency; the Manager, Indian Thought; the Postmaster-General, Ceylon; the Editor, "Milson Bulletin"; the Planters' Association, Ceylon; Mr. A. de S. Kanakaratna, Mr. W. C. Macready; the Manager, "National Monthly"; the Editor, "Collegian and Progress of India"; and the Editors, "Ceylon Antiquary."

Valuable exchanges of publications were maintained and others effected during the year. The Society now has 40 institutions on its exchange list.

COUNCIL.

On the resignation of Mr. John Harward, M.A., as President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., was elected President. The vacancy caused under rule 18, by the retirement of the Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere as Vice-President, was filled by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S. Under rule 20 Dr. A. Nell, and Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasékera retired by seniority and Messrs. P. E. Pieris and F. H. de Vos by least attendance. Two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Mudaliyár A. M. Gunasékera and Dr. A. Nell were re-elected; and in place of Messrs. P. E. Pieris and F. H. de Vos, the Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere and the Hon'ble Mr. K. Balasingham were elected. The vacancy on the Council caused by the appointment of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam as President was filled by the retiring President, Mr. J. Harward. The vacancy caused by the death of Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., was filled by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., as Honorary Secretary.

HONORARY MEMBERS AND PATRON.

As mentioned already under rule 10, Mr. J. Harward, M.A., retiring President, was elected an Hon. Member. His Excellency Sir John Anderson, K.C.B., graciously consented to become the Patron of the Society, following the precedent of many predecessors in his office.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of rupees four thousand one hundred and sixty-one and cents sixteen (Rs. 4,161.16), to the credit of the Society, at the end of the year. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 6,867.45 while the expenditure was Rs. 2,706.29. For the very satisfactory condition of its finances the Society is greatly indebted to the care and zeal of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. The accounts have again been audited by Mr. Herbert Tarrant to whom the Council offer its sincere thanks.

POPULAR LECTURES.

In November, 1916, Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Director of the Colombo Museum, brought up the question of organising a system of popular lectures. A sub-Committee consisting of Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Vice-President, Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S., Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Dr. Andreas Nell, and Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gupasékara was appointed to organise a series of popular lectures on subjects connected with the work of the Society.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

The Council regret that there is nothing to report under this head owing to the suspension of the operations of the Archaeological Survey. Since the death of the late Mr. E. R. Ayrton, Archaeological Commissioner, in May, 1914, there has been no excavation or restoration work undertaken. As this Society was mainly instrumental in inducing the Government to establish the Archaeological Survey and has since the Society's foundation in 1845 been interested and helped in all matters pertaining to Archaeology in Ceylon, the Council wish to point out the urgent necessity for the early resumption, and the continuance without break, of the work of the Archaeological Survey. Delay means a great increase in the cost of the work later and also means that many monuments may be lost or ruined for ever. The Council earnestly press this matter on the early attention of Government.

THE CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS.

3. The Chairman, Sir P. Arunachalam, said:—Before putting to you the resolution for the adoption of this Report I wish to voice the Society's great regret at the illness of our Patron, His Excellency the Governor, and to express our earnest wishes and prayers for his speedy recovery. I feel sure that it is a sentiment in which the whole people of Ceylon will join me, for by his wise and sympathetic rule he has laid them under a great obligation and won their hearts as no Governor has done within so short a time. (Hear, hear.) They will, I think, deem it a disaster to this Island if His Excellency should be compelled to leave us before the expiration of his term. We miss him very greatly to-night and we are happy to learn that he is making good progress, and will soon be himself. I do not wish to detain you, as we are all anxious to hear Mr. Paul Pieris, but I would like to mention that the "Papañcha Súdani," a very important Páli work, for the preparation and publication of which we are indebted to the munificence of our late Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers, and to the scholarship of High Priest Dharmaráma, and which inaugurates a series of scholarly works to be called the Aluviháre Edition, is now ready and will soon be on sale at this Office.

Hon. Mr. J. H. Meedeniya moved the adoption of the report. Mudaliyár R. C. Proctor seconded. The motion was unanimously carried.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

4. Sir James T. Broom proposed the election of the following office-bearers:—

President.—Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. C. Hartley and Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Bishop of Colombo.

Council.—Mr. C. W. Horsfall, Dr. Joseph Pearson, the Hon. Mr. K. Balasingham, Sir S. C. Obeyesekere, Mr. E. B. Denham, Dr. Andreas Nell, Mr. R. W. Byrde, Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara, Messrs. W. A. de Silva, J. A. Anthonisz, F. Lewis and F. W. Gunawardhana.

Treasurer.—Mr. Gerard A. Joseph.

Secretaries.—Messrs. H. W. Codrington and Gerard A. Joseph. Mudaliyár J. P. Obeyesekere seconded—carried.

5. The Chairman in introducing the lecturer, said:—

The next item on the agenda is a Paper by Mr. Paul Pieris. Mr. Pieris scarcely needs an introduction from me to you. You all know him as a distinguished Civil Servant, who has for many years devoted his scanty leisure to historical research and has by his labours thrown much light, especially on the history of Ceylon in the middle ages. He has now turned to the field of archæological exploration, and with characteristic insight and energy he has made discoveries which are of the very greatest interest. Of these discoveries he has kindly consented to let us have glimpses to-night. I have much pleasure in calling upon him to favour us with his lecture.

6. Mr. P. E. Pieris, D. Litt., M.A., C.C.S., read the following Paper:—

NAGADIPA AND BUDDHIST REMAINS IN JAFFNA.

BY P. E. PIERIS, D. LITT. (CANTAB.), C.C.S.

CHAPTER I.

The connection of North Ceylon with Gautama Buddha dates back to a period anterior to the Vijayan settlement, for it was at Nāgadīpa that the Buddha preached his sermon on reconciliation during his second visit to Lañkā (*Mahāvamsa* i.).

In Nāgadīpa, moreover, there was an important harbour, Jambukola; this communicated with Anurādhapura by the trunk road which ran from the northern gate of the Capital, and its distance therefrom may be calculated from the fact that a great religious procession starting from the port was fourteen days on the road before it reached the Capital (*M.* xix.). It was from Jambukola that Devānampiya Tissa's ambassadors started for Aśoka's Court, Pāṭaliputta, and it was here they landed on their return (*M.* xi.). Its chief claim to be remembered by Buddhists arises from the fact that it was here that Saṅghamittā, accompanying the *Bó* Tree, disembarked (*M.* xix.); in commemoration of this important event one out of the eight shoots which sprang from the first fruit borne by the *Bó* was planted at Jambukola Paṭṭanama, and Tissa, not long before his death, erected "in Nāgadīpa the Jambukola Vihāra at this landing place, the Tissamahā Vihāra and the Pácínaráma." (*M.* xx.).

All this was prior to 200 B.C., and for the next three and a half centuries, which were marked by the turmoil caused by various Dravidian invasions, the *Mahāvamsa* gives us no further information regarding Nāgadīpa.

The Sinhalese were fighting for existence in the South, and no Tamil record of the events which took place in the North has yet been found. However, by the middle of the second century of the Christian Era, circumstances had altered to such an extent that Mahallaka Nāga (whence the name Nāga?) was able to found the Sāli Pabbata Vihāra in Nāgadīpa (*M.* xxxv.), and a generation later Kaniṭṭha Tissa repaired the "temple" at Nāgadīpa (*M.* xxxvi.). This example was followed by Vohārika Tissa, who ascended the Throne in 215 A.D., and who built walls round the Vihāra named Tissa in Nāgadīpa (*M.* xxxvi.).

The Sinhalese power was once more firmly established in the North, and though succeeding waves of invasion drenched the province with blood and no doubt added considerably to the Tamil-speaking inhabitants who were already there, the Sinhalese Kings who from time to time were powerful enough to hold the flood in check, consistently asserted their supremacy over Nāgadīpa. Thus in the sixth century Agrabódhi built the relic house Rājāyatana in Nāgadīpa (*M.* xlii.), and when four centuries later Vallabha, King of Cola,* "sent forth an army to Nāgadīpa to conquer this country," *i.e.*, Laṅkā, Mahinda IV. despatched there his General Sena and compelled the invader to sue for peace (*M.* liv.); while in the eleventh century Vijaya Báhu the First, in the course of his long reign of fifty-five years, once again repaired Jambukola Vihāra (*M.* lx.). This supremacy must have been more than maintained during the efficient rule of Parākrama Báhu the Great; it is hard to imagine that the Vihāras of Nāgadīpa did not receive a share in the attention which under him was so freely bestowed on religious buildings; so numerous, however, were his works of piety that the Sinhalese Chronicler had at last to content himself by giving only their numbers.

*The words "King of Cola" are not in the Pali text (*J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 521).—*Ed.*

CHAPTER II.

The above brief sketch will have made it clear that in the fifteenth century a Sinhalese scholar could have been no more ignorant of the position of a spot so sacred as Nágadípa, than he could have been, for instance, of the position of Mahiyangana. Fortunately such a scholar has left to us a very clear indication at any rate of his belief. This information is contained in the *Nam Pota*, which is a list compiled in that century, of the most important religious centres in Lañká. This contains a section which begins: "In the Demaḷa Paṭṭanama," which is, of course, Jaffnapatam. It continues as follows:—

"Nága Kóvīla
Kadurugóḍa Viháraya
Telipola
Mallágama
Minivangomu Viháraya
Tanni Divayina
Nága Divayina
Puvangu Divayina
Kára Divayina"

It is not difficult to identify these under their present names, which are:—Nágar Kóvil, in Vaḍamaráchechi; Kantaródai, Tellipalai, Mallákam, and Vimañkámam, in Valikámam; and the Islands Tana Tívu (Kayts), Aṇalai Tívu, Nayañá Tívu, Puṇkuḍu Tívu, and Kára Tívu.

It will be a perverse mind which is able to believe that the author of the *Nam Pota*, when he spoke of Nága Divayina, referred to anything else than the small Island of Nayañá Tívu. The religious associations of this Island are probably much earlier than the date of the Buddha; the alleged snake or Nága worship of the place was a source of irritation to the Portuguese and their successors the Dutch during their temporary occupation of the Kingdom of Jaffnapatam; and to-day it is the scene of one of the most important pilgrimages in the Northern Province. At the same time it is obvious that the *Mahāvamsa* could not, under the description Nágadípa, have

referred exclusively to this Island. Great Kings with their armies would have hardly crossed over there to fight battles such as the Buddha came to prevent. The Choliyan* Vallabha would hardly have sent forth his army to Nayaṇā Tīvu for the purpose of conquering Laṅkā, nor would a Sinhalese army have considered it necessary to follow the enemy there; and finally, Nayaṇā Tīvu has no harbourage.

I have very little doubt that the name Nāga Dīpa, as used in the *Mahāvamsa*, refers to the same thing as Demaḷa Paṭṭanama and Yāpā Paṭuna, that is, to the entire Peninsula with its Islands, extending roughly from Nāgar Kōvil to Nayaṇā Tīvu. It might be urged that Nāga Dīpa must necessarily be an Island, *Dvīpa*; the answer to that objection is, that Jaffna is more of an Island than is Jambudwīpa, India. I would further suggest, for the consideration of those more competent than I am to decide a philological point, that the origin of the name Yapāpaṭuna is to be sought in the *Mahāvamsa* name of Jambukola Paṭṭanama.

Let us turn once again to the story of Sinhalese supremacy in the North. After the death of Parākrama Báhu another series of ferocious Dravidian incursions ended in the establishment within the Paṭṭanam of a Tamil Principality which even threatened the complete extinction of Sinhalese power. The Buddhist sacred places were destroyed or given over to private parties, and the Island, north of a line from Polonnaruwa to Mannár, was largely in Tamil hands. The success of Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu served, after a time, to keep the enemy in check, but it is doubtful if he was able at any time to enforce his supremacy beyond the Vanni. At any rate the dawn of the fifteenth century once again found the Tamils so threatening in the South, that it was only the genius and military capacity of Alakéswara Mantri which prepared the way for the peaceful accession to the throne of Rukulé Parākrama Báhu, who commenced his long reign of fifty-two years in 1415 A.D.

*See note on page 12.—Ed.

CHAPTER III.

Eyewitnesses and contemporary writers have left to us a vivid record of the events which took place in Jaffna at this time. Ārya Chakravarti, a powerful Canarese (*Kovul Sundésaya*, v. 236) of the Kéraḷa (*K.S.* 251) Clan, was still the independent ruler of the North, and it appeared to Parākrama Báhu not seemly that another should exercise kingly power in any part of Laṅká. The King's own son, the gallant Sapumal Kumárayá, was selected for the task of wiping off this stain from the royal honour, and he advanced northwards at the head of an army composed, not only of "Siṅhaḷa, Maḷala, Doḷuwara," but also, it is interesting to note, of "Demala," or Tamils, (*K.S.* 251). The passage of the Lunu Oya or Uppu Āru was strongly held by the enemy at Jávaka Kóḍḍai, a spot between Návatkuli railway station and the Āru; but they were driven away with loss and the Prince pushed on to Nallúr, the Capital, which was carried by storm. An eyewitness has preserved a lively account, which is no doubt familiar to students of the *Rājávaliya*, of this incident. "The Sénánáyaka Sapu Kumárayá, mounted on his sable charger, led his great army within Yápapaṭuna Nuwara. Now a powerful *vaḍakkara*, a Moor, was lying in ambush, determined to cut down and kill the Prince and his horse; whereupon the Prince rode his horse at the Moor and ran him through the breast, so that the spear-head protruded from his back. Instead, however, of shaking off the body, he secured it on the prongs of his spear, which he supported under his arm like a banner, and in this fashion he galloped round the four streets. After this he captured the Āryas there in nets like to a herd of deer, and won for himself the name of Āriya Vēḍḍaiyárum Perumál."

Ārya Chakravarti fled to the opposite coast (*K.S.* 263) and the victorious Sapumal took up his residence at Nallúr as Sub-King. To him the President of the Irugalkula Tilaka College, or Piriveṇa, at that ancient and historic spot, Mulgirigala, sent a message. It was a beautiful message, glowing with exuberant imagery,

rich with warm appreciation of the beauties of nature, weighty with dignified learning, and of infinite value as a contemporary description of the country traversed on the road from Devi Nuwara—the City of the Gods—in the South, to Nallúr—the City Fair—in the North. This message is the *Kovul Sandēṣaya*, a poem of 288 verses.

“Beloved,” says the learned priest to his chosen messenger, the Kokilá, “wing thy way to Yápá Paṭuna. Our Royal Prince Sapumal has driven away from there King Arya Chakravarti, and has established himself in warlike might. To him offer this my dutiful message” (v. 8).

“Arya Chakravarti beheld his glory, dazzling as the glory of the Sun. He beheld his might, which was noised throughout the Eighteen *Raṭas*. Thereupon grief entered into his heart; he abandoned his realm and fled beyond the Sea” (v. 263).

“Lo, he sits upon the Lion Throne, our Prince Sapumal; he, the stainless one, gifted with wisdom, goodness, and fortune; he, for ever the loving Defender of the Faith of the Buddha” (v. 266).

Not long after the Prince returned to Kótté, and of his return has sung one greater than the Parivenādi-pati—the Vijaya Báhu Saṅgha Rāja, Śrī Rahula of Totagomuwa, the greatest name in Sinhalese literature.

“Dear one, behold, here comes Prince Sapumal, the Captain of our host, Conqueror of Yápá Paṭuna; he rides his dark-bay steed; above him is the white *sesat*, and his jewelled splendour is as that of the Lord of the Day” (*Sēlaṭṭhiṇi Sandēṣaya*, v. 28).

The Prince left Jaffna, but he is not forgotten there; everyday the gods are reminded of him under his royal name of Bhuvanaika Báhu at the Kandaswámí Kóvil at Nallúr.

CHAPTER IV.

I think I have sufficiently outlined the intimate connection which existed through eighteen centuries between the Sinhalese and their religion, and the North of Ceylon.

Abundant evidence of the Sinhalese occupation is available on all sides in the place names. *Válikámam* (*Weligama*), the main division of the Peninsula, still preserves their political, just as *Koḍikámam*, (*Goḍigomuwa*) does their village, divisions; *Uḍuvil* and *Kaṭ Pokkaṇai* (*Gal Pokuṇa*) their system of irrigation; *Kóvilkandi* (*kanda*), *Tellipalai* (*pola*), *Uḍupiṭi* (*piṭiya*) and *Ampaṇai*, their geographical distinctions; *Putarāṇai* (*Buddha Arāma*) and *Saṅkávattai* (*Saṅghayá watta*) and the numerous sites known as *Puttar Kóvil* (*Buddhist Temple*), their religion; *Tala vattai*, *Tampalá vattai* and *Pol vattai*, the nature of their cultivation; *Kammalá vattai* and *Vaḍuvá vattai* their occupations; *Uyṇṇai* their flower gardens; *Kiriya vattai* and *Wikramasiṅka Patirāyaṇ* (*Patireṇṇehé*) their names; and perhaps *Puvaniṅka* (*Bhuvanaika*) *vattai*, *Ativira Váku* (*Báhu*) *tévaṇ Chimá* and *Siṅka Váku tévaṇ Kurichchi*, the names of the South Indian Generals employed by the Sinhalese Kings. This opens up a large field for inquiry, which has recently been receiving attention and is, I am glad to say, being exhaustively dealt with by a competent Tamil student, Mr. Coomaraswami, of the Police Office, Jaffna. I need only add that the Sinhalese term *Gama* was officially used in Dom Philippe Mascarenhas' *Foral of Jafanapatão* 1645 A.D., to describe the lands in the Vanni which were allotted to the Tamils for purposes of cultivation.

What then was the port in *Nágadípa* where the *Bó Tree* was landed? It is obvious from the *Mahāvamsa* narrative that it was the chief centre for communication with North India, in the same way as *Mahátitṭha* or *Man-toṭa* was the port for South India. It was a seven days' journey by water from *Támrálipti* at the mouth of the Ganges, and a very easy fourteen days' journey from the Northern gate of *Anurádhapura*. A glance at the map will show that either *Káṅkésaptuṇai* or *Paruttittuṇai* must have been the place in question, and there is one important consideration which will assist us in arriving at a decision.

Long before the arrival of *Vijaya* there were in *Laṅká* five recognised *Iṣvaram* of *Śiva* which

claimed and received the adoration of all India. These were Tirukkétisvaram near Mahátiṭṭha, Munníssaram dominating Saláwata and the Pearl Fishery, Tandés-varam near Mantōṭa, Tirukkonésvaram opposite the great Bay of Kōḍḍiyár and Nakulésvaram near Káńkésanturai. Their situation close to those ports cannot be the result of accident or caprice, and was probably determined by the concourse of a wealthy mercantile population whose religious wants called for attention. The temples in Sea Street in Colombo are a modern illustration of the operation of the same principle. The presence of Nakulésvaram and of the temple at Máviddapuram, now the holiest in the Peninsula, near Káńkésanturai, immediately point to this latter as having been the chief port in the Peninsula in very early times. It will be urged, and with much reason, that Úráturai, the modern Kayts, is a better harbour than Káńkésanturai, and that it affords safe anchorage all the year through, which Káńkésanturai does not. It may be also conceded that in Portuguese times Uráturai was the port for the Kingdom of Jaffnapatam, though this might have been influenced by the fact that their Custom House, where all goods had to be landed, was at the present town of Jaffna, commanded by the guns of their fort of *Nossa Senhora dos Milagres*. Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese also Úráturai was a port of importance, as is proved by a Tamil stone inscription at Nayiná Tívu, though there again convenience of communication with the later capital of Nallúr, by way of Kōlumputturai, no doubt affected its position. Against this contention, however, must be urged the fact that Úráturai is on an island, Tana Tívu, and that to reach the Peninsula from that port two arms of the sea have to be crossed first; whereas in the *Mahāvamsa* narrative there is no hint that the great procession which escorted the Bó Tree began its march by being rowed over two sheets of water. Such a port would not have been selected so long as another, which did not necessitate conveyance by water, was available. I am inclined to the opinion that Káńkésanturai was the chief port of the Peninsula at the time, and that

it was at Káñkésanturai that Sañghamittá landed.*

It appears from the *Mahāvamsa* that the *Bó* Tree procession on the first day of its progress halted for the morning meal at a spot which would command the utmost veneration of all Buddhists, being none other than the place where the Buddha alighted on his visit to Nágadípa. This was the site of the future Pácína Vihára and here Tissa erected numerous monuments to mark the sites connected with the visit of the Buddha (*M.* xix). In view of the refection hour of the priests the procession must have halted at about 10.30 a.m., and it can hardly be expected that with all the delays incidental to getting a great body of men started on the road, the distance covered on that morning was much more than six or seven miles. Here was, in the eyes of the Buddhists, the sacred spot in Nágadípa; it was here that one would naturally expect great religious buildings to be erected. Throughout the centuries of Sinhalese influence, this spot must have loomed large as the Buddhist centre in Nágadípa. The text of the *Mahāvamsa* is still too uncertain, and our knowledge of the application of early place names still too meagre, to allow of any dogmatising based on its somewhat inconsistent narrative; but tentatively I advance the three following suggestions:—

- (a) Nágadípa is the peninsula of Yápapaṭṭana;
- (b) The *Bó* Tree was landed at Káñkésanturai;
- (c) The site of the Buddha's second visit to Lañká should be looked for at the distance of a comfortable morning's stroll from Káñkésanturai on the road to Anurádhapura.

CHAPTER V.

Some months ago, while on my way to Káñkésanturai I chanced to look out of the window of my railway carriage when approaching Chunnákam (*Sinh.* Hunugama) station, when my attention was drawn by the appearance of a mound close by and to the west of the rail track.

* For another identification of "Jambukola", see p. 35 *infra*.—Ed.

Every mound is an object of interest in a country where the greatest natural elevation is only thirty feet, and in addition there was something peculiar about the shape of this mound. Some months later I went and inspected the *tumulus*, and thus discovered the first *dágoba* in Jaffnapatam.

On this second occasion I learnt from a villager that about fifty years ago a carved stone had been found in digging a well in the same village, and had been removed to the once royal village of Kóppáy. I therefore went to Kóppáy and traced the stone and discovered that it was a perfectly preserved limestone terminal of a *dágoba* spire. The stone is a sugar-loaf twenty-one inches high and deeply grooved into six parallel diminishing bands. The base is twelve inches in diameter and is hollowed out to be fixed into another stone below, while the top is prepared for a metal finial. It is shown standing on a pedestal in Plate II. The owner willingly surrendered the precious stone when I pointed out to him its significance, and it was removed in triumph to Jaffna Fort.

Hidden away in the comfortable garden which the generosity of Mr. Dyke had provided for the delectation of those who from time to time should be his successors in the office of Government Agent of this out of the way Province, is a fine image of the Buddha, also of limestone, dug up in 1902 at Koddiyá Vattai, once a Sinhalese *Watta*, and now a hamlet of Chuppákam. I visited the spot where the image had been found, and discovered close by a structure of large ancient bricks. I reported matters to this Society, and through its assistance obtained from Government a sum of Rs. 150 for test excavations. I commenced at Tidal as the spot is locally called, for *tídal* in Tamil means a mound; and four days work, in which I was greatly assisted by Proctor Mr. T. Coomaraswami, revealed all that I desired to know. We uncovered the brick platform of a *dágoba*, measuring roughly forty feet a side. The space within was built up with large blocks of hard rough stone, known

locally as *Kāḍḍukkal* or *Vairakkal*, set in lime plaster. The *garbha* or bell had consisted of the same material, faced with strong lime cement three inches thick. The basal rings and the *hataṛeṣ koṭuwa*, etc., had been faced with coral stone, handsomely moulded in various designs; this and the plastering had either fallen down or been broken down and quantities of the coral stone, white and clear cut, was found among the debris. Till six years ago the *garbha* had risen about twelve feet above the platform; and then came the usual vandal, who has done so much stupidly ignorant mischief to valuable antiquities, and cartloads of the *dāgoba* stones were dug out with pickaxes and removed for use on the railway line. Fortunately the coral mouldings hidden in the earlier debris, escaped. Funds were short, and I stopped the work here at this point (see Plate I.). There are brick foundations on the same land on the other side of the railway awaiting excavation. Mr. Coomaraswami kindly obtained for me a Lion Massa of Parākrama Bāhu said to have been found in the village, but he was unable to be positive as to the locality.

On certain information received I next visited the village of Kantarōḍai, which, as already pointed out, is the Sinhalese Kadurugoda. The intermediate stage in the development of the name appears in Mascarenhas' *Foral*, where the village Candaracudde is assessed for the Land Tax at 37 *pardāos*, 1 *chaeran*, 17½ *fanams*; and for the Poll Tax at 6. 1. 10. At the last Census the population consisted of 444 males and 437 females. The termination *goda*, being pronounced by the Tamil as *koḍa* (cudde), soon developed into *oḍa* and the Tamil *ōḍai*, so that in deeds of the middle of the last century the village even appears as Ōḍai Kurichchi. The descriptive name *goda* can be well applied to the village, as the undulating nature of the ground is very noticeable in this flat country. It is situated six miles south by west of Kāṅkésapūrai, and adjoins Uḍuvil, a village which is entitled to much more attention than it has yet received, if it be only by virtue of its important tank.

The size and massive construction of its bund, a portion of which is now converted into a coconut garden, as well as the large stretches of rice fields which are adjacent, indicate an extensive scheme of irrigation. The tank itself is connected with three others, and a large channel leading from it still survives in spite of all the encroaching activity of adjoining landowners. Kantaródai and Uduvil, with Chuppnákam, form the centre of the solid western chunk of the Peninsula which bears the Sinhalese name of Válikámam, and they are links in the chain of Sinhalese names, including Tellipaḷai, Vimañkámam, Mallákam, Chuppnákam, Uduvil, Inuvil, Konḍávil, and Kokkuvil, which connect Káñkésanturái with the Capital.

I was fortunate enough on my first expedition to meet Mr. Proctor V. S. Ponnambalam, who very kindly accompanied me through the village. I found a new well being opened, and on looking down into it my attention was attracted by some blue specks. I therefore descended into the well and found there so much of interest that the next week I opened a pit for the purpose of further investigation. The spot is a palmyra garden, and quite flat, and at a depth of three or four feet the debris of buildings was encountered. This consisted primarily of roofing tiles mixed with large fragments of strong lime plaster about three inches in thickness. For a width of about six feet the tiles found were glazed or enamelled on the upper surface, which was grooved, in a rich blue colour laid on very thickly and fired. There is grooving not only on the upper surface but also on the under surface, to admit of the tiles fitting into each other. Below these tiles was a large deposit of slabs of coral stone moulded and otherwise, and all wedge-shaped, having manifestly been used in a dágoba or other circular building. It is not possible to ascertain at present the origin of these beautiful tiles. The Superintendent of the Madras Museum informs me that such tiles are unknown there and no similar tiles are on view at our Museum; but a lump of "enamel" of the

same colour, found at Anurādhapura, is shown. I found, however, on examining the store-room here a couple of fragments of similar tiles brought from Tissamahārāma, and dating about the first century before Christ. Apparently what I had found had been used as a roof over a dāgoba, and I had alighted upon the site of a dāgoba of special importance.*

I now began a more methodical examination of the village, visiting a large number of the carefully screened dwelling compounds. I was accompanied by Rāsanāyagam Mudaliyār, the Secretary of the District Court of Jaffna, to whose persistency, wide and accurate information, and intelligent co-operation, I am under a deep obligation. What we discovered filled me with astonishment; we had discovered a village scattered all over with broken tiles. It does not require much knowledge of ancient sumptuary laws to know that tiles indicate a palace or a temple, and here there is no tradition of a palace. Tiles lay about in profusion on every side, in thick layers. Here and there masses of brickwork were seen, but bricks are much in demand in a country where bricks worth the name cannot be produced for lack of suitable clay. It was, however, the wells which soon began to attract our attention; their number is great and the majority of them are built up of wedge-shaped coral blocks taken from dāgobas, while set in the plaster works are ancient roofing tiles. At one of these wells was half a stone *kota*, and low down in another was a portion

* Mr. W. N. Rae, Acting Government Analyst, has kindly furnished me with the following report:—

"The glaze was about half a millimetre thick and was very much cracked.

It was easily separated from the substance of the tile and was easy to powder.

Small pieces on examination under the microscope appeared transparent and contained gas bubbles: gas bubbles show insufficient heating.

A qualitative examination of a portion of the glaze showed the presence of: Ferric iron, Aluminium, Lead, Calcium, Sodium, Copper and Silica.

The glaze therefore is a soft glass, the colour is due to the presence of copper and is modified to some extent by the presence of ferric iron."

of a stone frieze, pointed out to me by a little boy who knew it as the "Bride and Bridegroom." It should be noted that coral stone is not to be found in the neighbourhood, and that all the immense quantity of dressed coral which littered the village, had at one time been employed for buildings, mainly of a circular shape.

The presence of several artificial mounds of a moderate size, for the largest of them probably did not exceed sixty feet in diameter, explained the abundance of the coral blocks. These mounds are the remains of *dágobas*, and it seems strange that so large a number should be found in one small village. There were, I should think, quite a dozen of them, and so far we have found the stone *kotas* of sixteen of them; a few of these *kotas* are shown in Plate II. There was no necessity to spend much out of the scanty stock of money available, in order to ascertain what these mounds were. The largest, or one of the largest, is known as the Turumpa Tidal, the Mound of the Turumpas, a very low caste equivalent to the Sinhalese Apullaunnás, who live round it. These have been utilising the material of the *dágoba* for many years, and when I visited the spot a large collection of the *Vairakkal* from the *garbha* had been dug up and was lying ready for removal. In various parts the sites of buildings were indicated by rows of the stone bases of columns. These bases consist of large blocks of *Vairakkal*, sometimes three feet across, roughly rounded, and showing on the top a deep socket of about six inches square, which had been meant to receive a column. Some of these bases stand clear above ground, and some were found under a couple of feet of earth.

The Tamil villager is intensely religious and frequently seeks a remedy for the ills of this life by erecting a Vayiravar shrine, a remnant apparently of ancient Hero worship. Often the shrine consists of nothing more than an iron trident fixed on a stone or log of wood and placed under a tree. Opposite this is set up a block of hard stone against which on solemn occasions coconuts are broken to the honour of the deity, and several of the

kotas were found utilised for this purpose, being fixed in the ground with the base uppermost. The most interesting of the coral stone finds, namely, the miniature *dágoba* which is shown in Plate II. was also being similarly used. Numerous temples in the District, I was informed, have drawn upon the ruins at Kantaródai for limestone.

On reaching one portion of the village, all interest in tiles, bricks and coral stone disappeared in the discovery of limestone remains. This limestone, which is similar to what is frequently seen in Anurádhapura, is not to be obtained in the Peninsula, and along with granite had all been imported from elsewhere. In this portion of the village nearly every dwelling compound yielded some interesting specimen. The large fragment of the torso of what must have been at one time a gigantic statue (see Plate IV.) was being used at a well for washing clothes on. A drain by another well yielded the tallest of the *kotas* shown in Plate II., the base of the circular column in Plate III. and the massive block of limestone on which the head is shown in Plate IV. This last block is a coping stone, one of several found at various spots, and is semicircular above with a flat base grooved down the middle for setting in the plaster. Another well yielded the specimen of Buddhist railing ornament shown to the right of Plate III. A fine specimen of this type, complete with a handsome projecting moulding on one side, is being used at a Káli Kóvil. These slabs were no doubt used in the ornamentation of *dágobas*, though I cannot suggest the use of the similarly ornamented cylindrical block on the left of Plate III. and which has a socket at the top, unless it be the top of a pillar prepared to receive the capital. The slab by the side of this last was found at an old woman's hut; it will be seen that it once formed part of a circle, the diameter of which Mr. Baker, Superintendent of Surveys at Jaffna, estimates at approximately 60 feet. This must have formed part of one of the basal rings of a *dágoba*. A portion of a granite pillar, buried as the door step of another hut, was the only specimen of granite found.

What was perhaps of as much interest as anything else were the great fragments, sometimes nearly three feet across, of lime concrete, which were found used as stepping stones and at wells. This concrete is from five to six inches thick, and freely mixed with shells. I was told that there is an entire roadway paved with this concrete, but have not excavated for it yet. Some little distance away, at the Pillaiyār Kóvil at Mākayappiddi—another Sinhalese name—is the pretty sheet of water shown in Plate VI. On either side of the flight of steps is set up a block of ancient stonework; that appearing in the illustration once formed the feet of a gigantic statue of either a royal personage or of the Maitreya Buddha, as appears from the *Virakkapāl* on the ankles.

Among the most valuable of the finds are the two portions of the body of an image of Buddha found separately in a field where there are some stone pillar bases *in situ*. The feet of this had been formed of a separate block or had been broken off and subsequently fastened to the body by means of iron rods, the hollows for which may be seen. Similarly the right arm had been formed of a separate piece. The same field yielded the second largest *kota* in Plate II., as well as the head of a Buddha of heroic size shown in Plate IV. The head had been broken off from the body and the fracture had been repaired in the same fashion as in the case of the feet of the other Buddha. These seem to indicate a period of foreign invasion followed by a Buddhist revival.

At the edge of this field is a *dágoba*, to which the *kota* had probably belonged. A trench was sunk across a portion of this and revealed the fact that it was similar in its construction to the one at Chunnákam though of much greater size. There was however a striking lack of the remains of plaster work. About ten yards beyond, amongst numerous stone pillar bases, Rásanáyagam Mudaliyar detected a projecting piece of limestone which he insisted on my digging up. A whole day was occupied in the task, the excitement of the workmen increasing with the increase

in the apparent size of the block; at last with a shout of triumph they turned over what was found to be the body of an immense Buddha, the fragment weighing nearly three quarters of a ton (Plate V.). Here again the right arm had originally been formed of a separate block and has not yet been traced. The left arm had been smashed in the fall and numerous small fragments, including the portion shown in the illustration, were dug up. It is quite easy, however, to calculate from what is left that the figure when complete must have measured nearly five and a half feet across the shoulders. The image had fortunately fallen from its *āsana* on its face, and the folds of the drapery are in beautiful preservation. Further digging revealed a great block of a special quality of *Vairakkal*, which appears in the middle of the Plate, with a raised circular disc, on which the image, which must have been sedent, was no doubt originally fixed. At the same spot was found the slab of limestone appearing in the background; this is moulded down one side and is marked by a fairly deep large hollow with a smaller and shallower hollow to the right of it. The corresponding portion on the left is broken. Mr. Nathanielsz, D.E., Pallai, to whom I am indebted for the photographs, suggested the explanation that this stone formed part of the flooring in front of the *āsana*, and that the hollows had been formed where the knees and the hands respectively of kneeling worshippers rested on the ground. I think the explanation is highly probable. The size of this image can leave little doubt as to the high degree of sanctity which once attached to the place. The building in which it had been placed, so far as one can judge at present, consisted of a central nave running east and west, with aisles to north and south. The *āsana* is at the western end, and the image was placed facing the east, with a verandah or passage behind it. The floor was reached at the depth of four feet and was found to be of thick concrete. So far as the excavation has gone this floor measures 56 feet from east to west and 36 feet from north to south. To the south of the *āsana* and about ten feet from it we found

a fine slab of stone which is, roughly, five feet square, and nine inches thick. On it are six depressions which require explanation, though I am inclined to think the stone was used either as a *mal úsana* or a *handa gala*. The quantity of tiles so far met with is singularly small, and there is no certain indication as to how the building came to be destroyed. Not a fragment of metal was found anywhere.

The field adjoining on the east is a very promising site, where the tiles are heaped up thick among stone pillar bases. It is obvious that a religious establishment of great importance had at one time occupied these three adjacent lands, which are within a shout's distance of the Uduvil Tank.

Mr. V. Mudlr. Muttuvelu Pillai, one of the most prominent landowners of Jaffna, who had been of very great assistance in the course of our inquiries, informed me that some years back, while a well was being dug in one of his numerous lands in the village, the workmen found, at a depth of about sixteen feet, what he considered to be a piece of square mosaic work set in copper; this he subsequently presented to a Catholic priest and the article can no longer be traced. A specimen of crystal ornament answering to this description and found at Anurádhapura is on view at this Museum. He also informed me that in one hamlet there is a deposit of millions of the cores of chank shells which had been cut for purposes of ornament; he showed me some of them, and he himself had utilised several cartloads for burning lime. I was unable to investigate this ancient centre of an industry which is no longer found in Ceylon. He further told me, and in this he was confirmed by several others, that near some of the mounds fragments of gold are found in the water channels after heavy showers, and I was able to obtain a few samples of the ancient beads, etc., which had been picked up by the village urchins and which are similar to the articles found at Anurádhapura. He finally presented me with a cornelian seal engraved

with a woman's head, and mounted in silver, which had also been dug up in the village. The seal itself might be of any European age, but the metal work is probably Portuguese; I find from the *Foral* that in 1645 among the landowners of Candarcudde were Izabel Soares, wife of Manoel da Sylveira Coutinho; Martim Carvalho, and Francisco Sueyro de Ares.

Kantaródai appears to me to be a miniature Anurádhapura buried in the Tamil country. Nothing gave me more pleasure than to witness the intelligent interest with which my investigations were followed by the villagers. Not one grudged to surrender his property when he was assured that they were being collected for the benefit of his own people, to be kept in a central place where all could see them. Only where any masonry work had to be destroyed was it found necessary to pay some little compensation to assist in restoring the same. Mr. K. Thiyagaraja Pillai, the owner of the land where the chief excavations were carried on, not only willingly acquiesced in our trespass, but also rendered us great assistance securing the necessary labour. All the work at Kantaródai cost less than Rs. 100.

I finally investigated Vimañkámam the other Vihára mentioned in the *Nam Pota*. I had no difficulty in tracing the site of the building, and a morning's work laid bare two small chambers on an extensive site. I examined the village and peered down every one of the numerous wells which I passed; in not a single other place did I find a fragment of coral or limestone.

I had prefaced this account by the remark that at the distance of a morning's stroll from Káñkésanturai Buddhist remains were to be looked for, and such remains have been discovered at the proper distance in overwhelming quantity in a country supposed to be devoid of them. I suggest that Kantaródai is the scene of the Buddha's visit to Nágadípa. Are then the numerous *kotas* the relics of Devánampiya Tissa's "monuments"?

I have done my little, in a line of inquiry which is not familiar to me, to place before the public facts which

seem to me to be of great interest and which I think are of value to the student; and I hope that this Society will be able, in the absence of an Archæological Commissioner, to take action to organise a systematic investigation.

7. Mudaliyār S. Vythianathan read the following note sent in by Mudaliyār C. RĀSANĀYAGAM:—

“NĀGADĪPA” IN THE TAMIL CLASSICS.

About the beginning of the Buddhist era, Ceylon was peopled by two races, the Yakkhas and Nāgas, the former occupying the centre of the Island, and the latter Nāgadīpa in the north and Kalyāni (Kelaṇiya) in the west. These two races became extinct centuries ago with the exception of a few struggling survivors who were absorbed into the permanent population.

Several attempts have been made to locate the ancient Nāgadīpa, some identifying it with the small island of Naying-ātivu and others locating it near Kalpiṭiya.

The *Mahāvamsa* relates how two Nāga kings, Mahodara and Culodara, were preparing with their armies to wage a war at Nāgadīpa for the possession of a gem-set throne left by a Nāga queen. Buddha took compassion on them and appeared before them and preached to them a sermon on reconciliation. The Nāga kings thereupon gladly gave up the gem-set throne to the divine sage, and from that seat he (Buddha) converted eighty *kotis* of Nāgas to his faith and presented the precious throne to the Nāga kings as an object of worship.

This version of the second visit of Buddha to Ceylon is corroborated in almost every detail by an ancient Tamil Saṅgham work called *Maṇimēkalai*.

Maṇimēkalai is a Tamil poem, written about the middle of the second century after Christ, by Chittalaich-Chāttanār, a poet of the third Tamil Saṅgham and a Buddhist. It treats about the life of Maṇimēkalai, the daughter of the famous dancer for whom Kovalan, the husband of Kannaki, (known as Pattini Dewiō in Sinhalese) abandoned his faithful wife, and of her renunciation of the world and becoming a Buddhist recluse. Hence the title *Maṇimēkalai Turavu* or the “Renunciation of Maṇimēkalai.”

Maṇimēkalai in the course of her wanderings is represented to have visited the island of Maṇipallavam, which was then an important place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists. The sanctity of the place was due to the presence of a gem-set seat of Buddha, which had the inherent virtue of enlightening the beholder about his previous births, and to the fact that Buddha visited the island to settle a dispute between two Nāga kings, each of whom claimed the seat as his.

The story of Buddha's visit to Maṇipallavam is thus described in *Maṇimēkalai*, Canto VIII. (1-2, 43-63):—

“இருங்கடல்

வாக்குதிரை யடுத்த மணிபல்ல வத்திடைத்
தையர வோவென் றமுனோன் முன்னர்
விரிந்திலங் கவிரொளி சிறந்துகதிர் பரப்பி

யுரைபெறு மும்முழ நிலமிசை யோங்கித்
 திசைதொறு மொன்பான் முழநில மகன்று
 விதிமா னுடியின் வட்டங் குயின்று
 பதும சதுர மீமிசை விளங்கி
 யறவோற் கமைத்த வாசன மென்றே
 நறுமல ரல்லது பிறமாஞ் சொரியாது
 பறவையு முதிர்சிறை பாங்குசென் றதிராது
 தேவர்கோ னிட்ட மாமணிப் பிடிசை
 சிறப்புவிளங் கவிரோளி யறத்தகை யாசனங்
 கீழ்நில மருங்கி னாகநா டானு
 மிருவர் மன்னவ ரொருவழித் தோன்றி
 யெமதீ தென்றே யெடுக்க லாற்றார்
 தம்பெரும் பற்று நீங்கலு நீங்கார்
 செங்கண் சிவந்து நெஞ்சபுகை யுயிர்த்துத்
 தம்பெருஞ் சேனையோடு வெஞ்சினம் புரிநா
 னிருஞ்செரு வொழிமி னெமதீ தென்றே
 பெருந்தவ முனிவ னிருந்தற முரைக்கும்
 பொருவறு சிறப்பிற் புரையோ ரேத்துந்
 தரும பிடிசை தோன்றிய தாங்கென "

" In the sea-girt land of Manipallavam.....
 Before the eyes of her thus wandering alone, there appeared
 the great gem-set seat, placed there by (Indra) the King of
 the Celestials—a seat of becoming splendour, spreading efful-
 gent rays of light. Rising from the ground to the standard
 height of three cubits and extending towards all directions
 into a width of nine cubits, set all round with crystal glass
 out to different forms and shapes, and exhibiting a square
 with *padma* (lotus) design, stood the seat of Buddha. Here
 the trees dare not shed any but fragrant flowers, nor the
 birds dare make noise even with their fluttering plumes.
 Now for this seat of Dharma of splendour effulgent, endowed
 with the virtue of enlightening its beholders of their previous
 births, there appeared in contest two Nāga kings from the
 lower* regions, each claiming the seat for himself. Unable
 were they to remove it nor could they rid themselves of their
 strong desire to possess it. There, while with mighty armies
 they waged a fierce strife with blood-shot eyes and hearts
 aflame with rage, the austere Muni (Buddha) bade them cease
 their strife and rivalry. Being seated thereon he preached
 to them his Dharma. So worthy of reverence even by the
 devotees of matchless excellence is that seat of Dharma which
 now appeared before Manimékalai."

* By the word "lower" is meant the countries lying towards the
 south. The northern lands were called மேலநிலம் and those to the
 south கீழ்நிலம்.

It is therefore evident that the island of Manipallavam mentioned in *Maṇimékalai* is no other than Nágadīpa of the Sinhalese chronicle; and there is sufficient material in *Maṇimékalai* to enable us to locate the exact position of Manipallavam.

Its distance from Kāvīrippūmpaddīnam, the ancient capital of the Chōla country, at the mouth of the river Kāvéri, is thus described in Canto VI. :—

பூங்கொடி தன்னைப் பொருந்தித் தமிழீஇ
யந்தர மாறு வரறைந்தி யோசனைத்
தென்றிசை மருங்கிற் சென்றுதிரை யடுத்த
மணிபல் லவத்திடை மணிமே கலாதெய்வ
மணியிழை தன்னைவைத் தகன்றது—210-214.

"The goddess *Maṇimékalai** held the girl in a close embrace and bearing her southwards, thirty *yojanas* through the air, deposited her in wave-girt Manipallavam and departed."

A *yojana* is a measure of distance varying from 3 to 13 miles. It is, however, usually calculated at 4 miles and the distance of Manipallavam from the mouth of the Kāvéri can be safely set down in miles as 120.

In Canto XI. occur the following lines :—

"சங்கித னயலகத் திரத்தின தீவத்
தோக்குயர் சமந்தத் துச்சி மீமிசை
யறவியங் கிழவே னாடியினை யாகிய
பிறவி யென்னும் பெருங்கடல் விடுஉ
மறவி நாவா யாக்குள தாதலிற்
றொழுது வலங்கொண்டு வந்தேனீங்கு"—21-26.

"Adjacent to this (Manipallavam) is Ratnadīpa. In it stands the lofty peak Samanta on whose summit are the feet of Buddha, a ship of righteousness to cross the ocean of birth. Them have I worshipped and returned hither."

Again in Canto 28, 107-109.

"இலக்கா தீவத்துச் சமனொழிபென்னுஞ் செல்ம்பினை
வலங்கொண்டுமீளூத் தருமசாரணர்." [பெய்தி]

"The preachers of Dharma who were returning after worshipping the peak *Samanoli* in *Laṅkādīpa*."

Samanta and *Samanoli* both refer to Adam's peak, for the sanctity of the peak is due to the presence of Buddha's foot-prints on it, and the same is said to be at *Ratnadīpa* or *Laṅkādīpa*, thus proving that Ceylon was then known by both these names.

It should be noted here that the pilgrims who worshipped Adam's peak went to Manipallavam for the purpose of doing

* The goddess after whom the heroine is named.

reverence to the gem-set seat of Buddha on their way back to India.

As Manipallavam is adjacent to the Island of Lañkā and as it is 120 miles to the south of the mouth of the Kávéri, it is not difficult to identify it with the peninsula of Jaffna, which is an island but for the narrow isthmus connecting it with the mainland. Probably in the early days the Elephant-pass lagoon extended to the Bay of Bengal, thus making Jaffna an island.

The description of the island as contained in *Maṇimékalai* is an excellent account of what may be seen even to-day. Thus in Canto VIII., lines 28-35:—

“திரைதவன் பறவையும் விரிசிறைப் பறவையு
மெழுத்து வீழ்சில்லையு மொடுங்கு சிறைமுழுவது
மன்னச் சேவ லாசனாகப்
பன்னிறப் புன்னினம் பரந்தொருங் கிண்டிப்
பாசறை மன்னர் பாடி போல
வீசுரீர்ப் பரப்பி நெதிரெதி ரிருக்குந்
துறையுந் துறைஞன் நெடுமணற் குன்றமும்
யாங்கணுந் திரிவேள் ”

“ She (*Maṇimékalai*) wandered everywhere over the backwaters which were thronged with birds floating on the wave-crests, or soaring aloft with outstretched wings. Here the *Chillai* rises in the air only to dash down again; yonder is the *Muḥural* with folded wings—birds of every hue which, with the male swans as their kings, roost ranging themselves so as to resemble the opposing hosts of kings at war encamped, and on long sandy dunes around these back-waters.”

Such indeed would be a familiar sight to a sportsman who frequents the back-waters in Jaffna.

And again in Canto XI., lines 2-5:—

“மணிபல் லவத்திடை மணிமே கலைதான்
வெண்மணற் குன்றமும் விரிபூஞ் சோலையுந்
தண்புனற் பொய்கையுந் தாழ்த்தன னோக்கிக்
காவ தந்திரிய.”

“ At Manipallavam, when *Maṇimékala* had slowly wandered about a *kavatam*,* looking at the white sand dunes, blossoming groves and ponds of cool waters.”

The white sand dunes are still familiar features of our landscape.

It is therefore clear that *Nágadīpa* referred to by the Sinhalese chroniclers is identical with the Jaffna peninsula. It was known as *Nágadīpa* to those in South Ceylon, as it was

* A measure of distance, said to be about ten miles, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ *nálikai* (Sinh-*péya*) walking distance. Is the word *kavatam* derived from Sinh. *Gavera* or *rice versa*?—Ed.

populated by the tribe of Nágas, and known by the beautiful name of Manipallavam* to the Buddhist pilgrims of South India. Whether the latter name owed its origin to the presence of gems (*maní*) or to sand (*maṇal*), it is now difficult to say.

As Jambukola in Nágadipa was the northern port of the Island of Ceylon in ancient times, and as Nágadipa was an important centre of pilgrimage to the Buddhists, settlers from India and South Ceylon no doubt crowded into the country, and the Nágas, either by subjugation or by absorption, became extinct; while the Tamils and Sinhalese lived side by side in peace and harmony for several centuries, as is evident from the names of villages and lands still found in the peninsula. Unless the Tamils and Sinhalese lived side by side at the same time—at one time under the yoke of the Tamil kings, and at another under that of the Sinhalese kings—these names would not have survived at all.

That the Nágas were elbowed out can be seen from the fact that a village by the name of Nágarkóvil is in the extreme east, and an island by the name of Nágativu is in the extreme west. This island, which at the time of the author of the *Nampota* was known as Nágativu, has lost that name and is now called Nayingativu, as a Brahmin called Naiyápatar settled at the place and rebuilt the temple that was in ruins at the time of his arrival.

That the Nágas were absorbed into the later settlers of North Ceylon is evidenced by the presence of such names as Nágan, Nágamma, Nági, Nágamani, Nágamuttu, Nágalingam, Nágéndran, &c., and by the worship of Nágatambirán and Nágamnái.

The port of Jambukola was probably what is now known as Jambu-turai or Sambal-turai, three miles west of Kirimalai.

Jambukola, or, more correctly, Jambukóla, is more a Tamil name than a Sinhalese one. It is akin to Jambukólam or Jambukóvalam (*kóvalam*—a cape or head-land), a name given to the head-land over the harbour, to distinguish it from Kóvalam on the extreme west and Kaṭ-kóvalam on the extreme east (near Point-Pedro), on the northern coast of the Peninsula. If Mátota near Mannár could have at one time served as a chief port where Greek and Roman ships rode at anchor, Jambu-turai could certainly have served as the landing place of Saṅgamittá and her *Bó*-tree.

It is stated in the *Mahāvamsa* that Dóvānampiya Tissa planted at Jambukola one of the plants obtained from the original *Bó*-tree. He erected also a Vihára at the port of Jambukola in Nágadipa; likewise the Tissamahávihára and the Pácinávihára at the same port. The ruins of a vihára and a dágoba at a spot still called by the villagers Gothu-

* Compare this name with *Maṇi-nágadipa* of some of the Sinhalese writers.

maluwa—a corruption of *Bodhimaluwa*—within a hundred yards of Jambuturai, probably mark the spot where the *Bó*-tree was planted; and an extensive tract of land in Chulipuram, about half a mile to the south of Jambuturai, called Tissamaluwa, probably preserves the memory of *Dévānampiya Tissa*'s visit and of his Tissamahāvihāra. At Tissamaluwa as well as at Bodhimaluwa can even now be seen the bases of pillars, such as are so frequent at Kantaróðai.

The Buddhistic importance of Jambukola can be also seen from the existence by the sea-shore of a spot called Tiruvaði Nilai (திருவடி நிலை, the place of the sacred feet) within a quarter of a mile of the port. This is now used by the Hindus for the purpose of performing their funeral and *Antiyēshdī* அந்தியேஷ்டி rites; but it must at one time have contained an impression of the feet of Buddha, as the Tamil name implies. The foot-print must have been an object of worship for the Tamil Buddhists and takes us back to the time when the majority of the Tamils too were Buddhists.

From the extensive Buddhistic ruins that can be found over a large area of the village of Kantaróðai, one is led to think that special Royal favour was bestowed on it for the erection of Vihāras and Dágobas; and as many such acts are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, Kantaróðai marks the spot where Buddha landed and preached his Dharma on his second visit to Ceylon, and where Mañimékalai saw the wonderful gem-set seat which made her conscious of her previous births.

8. MR. W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, Mudaliyár, expressed his great appreciation of Mr. Pieris' Paper, which opened up quite a new field of research in connection with the history of Ceylon. He hoped the work initiated by Mr. Pieris would lead to great results. With regard to an incidental point, however, he had to express his disagreement. Sapumal Kumárayá was not the son of Parákrama Báhu VI., but only his adopted son. The *Selaññihini Sandēgaya* makes this plain. That work was composed to pray to the tutelary god of Kēlapiya for a son to the King's daughter Ulakūḍaya Dévi, to succeed to the throne; and in the same work, mention is made of Sapumal Kumárayá as already a successful general just then returning from the conquest of Jaffna. If he was the King's own son, there would have been no occasion for a daughter's son to succeed to the throne.

9. MR. R. C. PROCTOR—after introductory remarks—said:—

In the Tamil books of 1,800 years ago, the authors allude to the sinking of an island between India and Ceylon owing to an earthquake. That a portion of our western coast was encroached upon by the sea is also attested by historians. If we assume that the harbour "Jambukola" referred to in the 2nd century B. C. still exists, then the arguments advanced by the lecturer identifying it with Kāñkēsanturai may be accepted as worthy of consideration. Buddhism prevailed in South India

till the 10th century A.D., since when Śaivism began to revive. Śaivite Kings, however, were tolerant enough to patronise Buddhism both in Ceylon and South India. The object of the inscription on the Leyden plate was to record the grant of a village by a Śaivite King (Rāja Rāja I.) to a Buddhist temple at Negapatam.

In the reign of Bhuvanēka Báhu I. (1272-1288) a Tamil Commander, Āriya Chakravartī, captured the city Subhagiri (Yāpahu) and carried away the venerable Tooth-relic to Jaffna.* It was restored to the Sinhalese King after many years. There were Buddhist temples in Jaffna during this period. According to the *Vaipavamālai*, in 1380 (Śaka) the Jaffna King had a misunderstanding with Bhuvanēka Báhu, the Sinhalese King, regarding the pearl fishery and vanquished the latter. The whole of Ilankai (Ceylon) came under the flag of Jaffna ("Gemini" holding a lyre) for 12 years. Through the interference of the Pāndyan King, who personally guaranteed the due payment of a tribute, which was settled, the Kandyan Kingdom was restored to Parākrama Báhu. We know what followed when a successor of the Sinhalese King refused to pay the tribute and caused the agents of the Jaffna King, who were sent to demand the payment of the tribute, to be hanged. It is said that a general of the Jaffna King commanded the Chinese army, who captured the Sinhalese King who was carried away as captive to China.

According to the *Vaipavamālai* and some Portuguese writers, the victory of Sapumal Kumārayā was not easily won. In two engagements the Sinhalese army had been worsted. At this period many Sinhalese lived in Jaffna as subjects of the Jaffna King. These took up arms, joining the enemy. What the valour of the Sinhalese army had failed to accomplish, that the traitor's arms and disloyalty among the Sinhalese inhabitants of Jaffna secured for Sapumal Kumārayā. The section of people referred to in the Paper as *Doḷuearas* fighting on the side of the Sinhalese, perhaps; if the suggestion implied by the word be accepted, denoted a people who were "Religious Metayers" living on the lands which were the gifts of the Jaffna King to Buddhist temples. However that may be, the Jaffna King had to flee the country with his Queen and two sons. Jaffna fell into the hands of the Sinhalese. Sapumal Kumārayā ruled Jaffna for two years and departed to Kōttē, leaving the principality to be ruled by his brother, who was known as Punchi Baṇḍā *alias* Jaya Wira *alias* Jaya Báhu. The latter

* The *Mahāvamsa* distinctly states that Āriya Chakravartī was "a great Minister" sent by "the five brethren who governed the Pandian kingdom." He carried away the Tooth-relic and "returned to the Pandian country. And there he gave the Tooth-relic unto the king Kulasekhara" (*Mhv.* xc., 43-47). There is not a word of Jaffna.

Āriya Chakravartī figures in the Tiruppullāṇi inscription of the 37th year (A.D. 1305) of Maṇavarman Kulasekhara I. (*Annual Report on Epigraphy*, No. 110 of 1903).—*Ed.*

ruled Jaffna for 15 years, compelling the Jaffna people to adopt the Sinhalese dress, manners and customs and severely punishing them if they followed their own usages. The Jaffna King returned with an army from India and drove out the Sinhalese. Pararāsa Sékaram, the eldest son of the King, assumed the Crown, and punished the Sinhalese for their traitorous conduct.

I suggest that the ruins discovered of Buddhist temples, belong to this date. In South Ceylon about this time, the Buddhist priesthood was actively participating in Court intrigues and political murders, and encouraging war and plunder.* It would not be strange, then, if Pararāsa Sékaram ordered the expulsion of the Buddhist priests from Jaffna.

The reference to "Turumpars," a kind of low caste people, being near the *Tidal* (mound of ruins) as its custodians, was to a people analogous to whose caste there was none in India to-day.

Till recent times, they were people consigned to live away from the rest and whenever they went out they were expected to trail a sheaf of palmyrah olas behind, so that the noise of the trailing olas would notify to the other class of people that "Turumpars" were about, and those who could not hear the sound saw the trace of the olas on the sand. They were not allowed to leave their hamlet except after dusk. The implication of the custom is that this people were such an accursed lot that the rest of the people were provided against the misfortune of beholding their faces and the chance of treading on their foot-prints. However, the "Turumpars" of to-day are reputed to be well versed in the black art of *Chúpiyam*, *Pelli*, &c. I suggest that these people are the descendants of the lay custodians of the Buddhist temples, when they existed, and that to-day they bear silent testimony to the terrible punishments inflicted on their forefathers for disloyalty to the King and the State (*Rájadroha*).

Sapumal was a Tamil. His name being Sennaka Perumál, probably a Vishnuvite by religion. His father was a South Indian adventurer who was received at the Court of Kótté with great marks of favour, for he was versed in the military science of the day, being a Panikkan by caste.*

The name "Bhuvanēka Báhu" of which "the gods are reminded every day" at the Kandaswámi Kóvil at Nallúr has no reference to Prince Sapumal. It really refers to Bhuvanēka Báhu, the Prime Minister of the first Jaffna King who occupied Nallúr. It was he who had the temple built and the same dedicated to the god Kandaswámi in 870 Śaka according to the *Kayilāyamálai* and *Vaipavamálai*.

10. MR. D. S. WIJESINGHE, said:—

It was only in September last that Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara published in "*Ceylon Notes and Queries*" an account of Nágadipa, and the learned author locates it in Puttalam and Chilaw

* Mr. Proctor should give his references for these statements. —Ed.

districts. The learned author of to-day's Paper means to locate it in Jaffna. Now, it is not a question of finding out who has succeeded in proving this seeming difference. Probably both are right because our ancient Buddhist and historical works speak of three Nāgadīpas, and, I think I am not wrong in asserting that the third Nāgadīpa is what is known as Kēḷaniya; for we find in the first chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* that in the conflict between the Nāga kings Mahodara and Culodara, the maternal uncle of Mahodara the Nāga king of Kēḷaniya, Maṇiakkhika by name, proceeded there to engage in that war and he having heard the sermon preached by Buddha supplicated him to visit his place of residence, Kēḷaniya. The *Samanakūṭa Warranāwā* alludes to this visit.

Nāgadīpa need not necessarily be an islet. *Dīpa* need not be a place entirely surrounded by water. A portion of land somewhat detached from the mainland may be a *dīpa*. The term *dīpa* is used to give some importance to the place.

The existence of Buddhist ruins in Jaffna is not strange. We find in the *Yālpāna Vaipava Mālai* or the history of the kingdom of Jaffna at page 19, that in the Śaka year 870 in the reign of Vikkramasīṅkai Ariyan*, a great disturbance arose between the Sinhalese of Yālpānam who were Buddhists and the Tamils in matters connected with religion. The King inquired into the matter and executed Punchi Bandā, the ring-leader of the Sinhalese. Until an expert can undertake to say the probable age of these images, it is unsafe to conclude that they were erected in commemoration of the event referred to in the present Paper.

11. Muhandīram WALTER SAMARASINGHE offered the following comments:—

He was of opinion that the theory advanced by the last speaker (Mr. Wijeyesinghe), viz., that Kēḷaniya might be the Nāgadīpa referred to was negatived by the details of the story as appearing in the *Mahāvamsa*, which showed that the King of Kēḷaniya had travelled to the scene of the battle from his own seat to support one of the combatants, and that he there, in Nāgadīpa, had invited the Buddha to favour him also with a visit to Kēḷaniya, which the Buddha did on his third visit to the Island. This makes it impossible that the Nāgadīpa of the second visit was also Kēḷaniya.

Another point to be observed was that the narrator of the story in the *Mahāvamsa* referred to those Nāgas in conflict as "hill Nāgas," so that it suggested itself to one to locate the scene of the conflict in the hill country. In this connection it was interesting to note that the Nāgadīpa visited by pilgrims was in the Ūva District, not far from Mahiyaāgana, and that

* The date Śaka 870 occurs only on p. 17 with reference to the building of the Kandasvāmi temple at Nallūr by this king's grandfather.—Ed.

this identification seemed to be in pursuance of tradition—tradition which, in these matters, not infrequently proved to be more reliable than findings based on Archaeological research. It might also be mentioned that there was a *gáthá* familiar to the worshippers of the Buddha, which mentioned all the sixteen sites supposed to have been visited by the Buddha. All the other fifteen were particular spots such as Mahiyaṅgana, or Srī Páda, or Kēlapiya and a whole peninsula such as suggested by the learned lecturer would not fittingly find a place in such a category. It suggested Nágadīpa as a spot of small area, rather than an extensive tract of country. It was not claimed that those facts altogether outweighed the other facts from which the learned lecturer had derived his conclusion, but the speaker considered that they might merely be added to the body of facts upon which speculation could be based.

Mudaliyār Rasanayagam, in the course of his Paper, had also raised the interesting theme of the probable amalgamation of the original Sinhalese inhabitants of the Jaffna peninsula and of the Nāgas with the Tamil invaders, as evidenced by the survival of the Sinhalese place names and of the term Nāga in the names of persons. There were many incidents even in the *Mahāvamsa* narrative which went to show that the aborigines, the Yakkhas and Nāgas, were not completely wiped out but coalesced with the races which succeeded them. One such reference was the assistance received from certain Yakkhas, with whom he subsequently shared the sovereignty, by Pandukābhaya, the first King to reign at Anurādhapura. Though it may disappoint those who are wedded to notions of race purity, the fact seemed to be that the Tamils of the North absorbed the Nāga and Sinhalese population whom they subdued, just as the Sinhalese absorbed the Yakkha, Nāga and Tamil elements they found in their midst. As a Sinhalese the speaker took pride in the reflection that the Sinhalese had contributed to the evolution of the enterprising race of the Jaffnese.

12. MR. F. LEWIS, the next speaker, produced a map, a copy of an old map which is in the British Museum. It was made by Ptolemy in the first century. Listening to the most excellent Paper read by Mr. Pieris, he found certain spots mentioned in the Paper on that map. He might mention one spot. He would spell the name and leave its pronunciation to his hearers. It was Nanaga Diba. The spot on the map was north of the Mahaweliganga on the eastern side of the country. It was not exactly near Jaffna, but not very far from it. It was shown as approximately east of Anurādhapura. Referring to the map Mr. Lewis said that there was another spot on it which could be recognized as Trincomalie, immediately south of it was the Ganges, the name given by Ptolemy to the Mahaweliganga. Then there was another place marked Bokana, the Okanda of to-day. Then again there was Baracas Flavius, which was the Kumbukkan River. He (Mr. Lewis) said he would present a copy of this map to the Museum.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE LECTURER.

13. DR. NELL said that he felt sure he was speaking on behalf of all present, in asking the Chairman to accord a vote of thanks to Mr. Pieris for the very interesting Paper. He pleaded guilty to having taken down a few notes while the Paper was being read, but did not do so to raise any discussion. Mr. Pieris had broken new ground. There was no doubt it was most valuable that there should be new facts. Mr. Pieris had drawn inferences which were very strongly supported by facts. He was perfectly certain that the best solution would be to visit Jaffna and see the ruins. Speaking entirely for himself, he was convinced of the justice of the inferences Mr. Pieris had drawn. He proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Pieris for the exceptionally interesting and very carefully prepared Paper. (Applause.)

14. THE CHAIRMAN :—I take it, gentlemen, you all agree with the motion of Dr. Nell. I will not detain you at this late hour, but I should like to mention, with reference to the suggestion made by Mr. Pieris at the conclusion of his Paper, that this Society will not be able to organize a systematic exploration as suggested, as our resources are very limited, and Government itself is not in a position to help us; in fact, it has withdrawn from us the grant to which we have been accustomed for years. I would suggest that Sinhalese gentlemen, specially Buddhists—I see some of them here, gentlemen of considerable wealth,—I would suggest that they help the Society with funds to carry on this most promising investigation. They will be following the example of wealthy men in other countries. Mr. Ratan Tata of Bombay, *e.g.*, has contributed twenty-thousand rupees a year for some years to carry out the exploration of the ruins at Patalaputra near Buddha-Gaya. I do not ask for so much. Whatever is given, the Society will see it used to the best advantage under the direction of Mr. Pieris and with the co-operation of the Government Agent, Northern Province. I have much pleasure in conveying to Mr. Pieris our hearty thanks for his most interesting lecture. (Loud applause.)

15. Mr. Pieris in acknowledging the vote of thanks desired to express his gratification, not indeed as the author of that little Paper, but as the Vice-President of the Society, at the result of that night's debate, for he anticipated several Papers from the learned speakers. He hoped Gunawardhana Mudaliyār would settle for them once and for all whether Sapumal Kumārayā was son or grandson or adopted son or son-in-law of Parākrama Bāhu. He hoped Mr. Proctor would give them a Paper on the *hūṇiyam* charms of the Turumbar, a subject he was so well qualified to deal with. There had been many references that night to the *Vaipaśa Mālai*. That is a modern compilation, of little or no authority as it stands. There are undoubtedly to be found in it valuable traditions and important clues, but the present text is very corrupt, and he hoped Mr. Proctor would seriously take up the question of editing the text and preparing

a new translation. Lastly, he expected from Mr. Lewis a Paper on the valuable Map which he had presented to the Society. As for Nágadipa, the evidence of *Maṣimēkalai*, taken with the *Mahāvamsa* narrative, placed it beyond doubt that in the second century of the Christian era, the site of the Buddha's second visit was believed to be in Jaffna; the description in *Maṣimēkalai* is unmistakable. He concluded by stating that a Member of the Society's Council had placed a sum of money at his disposal for continuing the work of excavation.

16. VOTE OF THANKS TO THE CHAIR.

MR. LEWIS proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

MR. C. P. WIJAYERATNE seconded—Carried.

The meeting terminated at 11-45 p.m.

17. NOTE ON MR. PIERIS' PAPER.

BY MR. JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

The Paper is undoubtedly a valuable contribution, not so much for the light—considerable though it be—which it throws on a matter hitherto comparatively little known, as for the field of activity it opens up in a direction full of vast possibilities.

Mr. Pieris' discoveries serve to confirm what was for a long time suspected and more recently placed beyond all doubt by the valuable researches of Mr. B. Horsburgh, C.C.S. and Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retd.), viz., a Sinhalese Buddhist occupation of the Peninsula before the Tamils.

Mr. Horsburgh wrote in July, 1916:—

"That the Sinhalese occupied the northern portion of the mainland, which is now Tamil country, there is ample evidence carved in stone all over the Mannar and Mullaitivu Districts, but the fact that they were settled also in the Jaffna Peninsula before the Tamils came, depends for its proof mainly on the evidence furnished by the place names they have left behind them, corroborated by the very few stone relics that have been found."* And this evidence of place-names he has discussed† with an insight and scholarship which cannot but prove helpful to a due appreciation of the results, now before us, of Mr. Pieris' labours.

Mr. Lewis too has given us some interesting information about Buddhist remains in the Jaffna Peninsula; and it is to his efforts, I think, that we owe the discovery of the "fine image of the Buddha" from Chunnākam, which Mr. Pieris refers to on page 20 of his Paper. There was, till eleven years ago, another

* *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II., p. 54.

† *Ibid*, Vol. II., pp. 54-58; 167-174.

‡ *Ibid*, Vol. II., pp. 96-97.

fine standing Buddha image—the Vallipuram Buddha—set up in the Old Park at Jaffna. It was dug up a long time ago at the village of Vallipuram and, according to Mr. Lewis, remained in the lumber-room of the Vallipuram temple for years until, in 1902, he asked the Manager of the temple to hand it over to him, which was done. Mr. Lewis had it set up in the Old Park at once, but in 1906 the image "was presented by Governor Sir Henry Blake to the King of Siam, who was particularly anxious to have it, as it was supposed to be of an archaic type." I annex prints of photographs of the Chunnákam and Vallipuram Buddhas.*

In view of the interesting discoveries made by Mr. Pieris near about the spot where the Chunnákam Buddha was unearthed, it seems almost certain that similar—or even better—results will be obtained from excavation work at Vallipuram, "for it is said to be the site of a city, long ago buried in the sand heaps." Years ago Mr. Lewis found it strewn with what, at first sight, appeared to be masses of coral rock, but on examination it was found that the seeming rocks were not rocks at all, but were formed of a species of cement which broke into pieces on being struck. The extent of the sand heaps containing these masses of broken cement blocks is said to be three miles in length, from north-west to south-east, and one mile in width. At one spot there was a dense heap of broken pots, tiles, &c., showing that there must have been a settlement of potters there. Among the other "finds" at Vallipuram was an *Iraka* or *Daraka* Sinhalese coin of very debased gold.

The three suggestions which Mr. Pieris advances tentatively (page 19) have an air of plausibility which makes them interesting. The evidence we have, however, is too contradictory to justify any dogmatizing at present. They are at least worth testing, but this cannot very well be undertaken at such short notice and within the limitations imposed on a Note such as this.

In regard, however, to the suggestion—that Nágadipa is the Peninsula of Yápápatuna—Mr. A. Mendis Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, has—to my mind, very forcibly—demonstrated† recently (1) that the name Nágadipa was originally applied to an island and afterwards to the mainland comprising at least the maritime parts of Puttalam and Chilaw districts, (2) that in course of time, owing to natural changes, Nágadipa became a part of the mainland and included both Periyánágavila and Sinnanágavila of the present day, and (3) that the name Nágadipa is not connected with the *Nágas*, whether regarded as snakes or as a class of people.

There are just two minor points I would like to note *en passant* :—

* (Not reproduced. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II., Part 2, p. 96—Ed.)

† *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, Pt. VII. (Sept. 1916), pp. 120-124.

(1) Mr. Pieris places Vohārika Tissa's accession at 215 A.D. (p. 2). This is not correct. Scholars* are now agreed that, up to the 11th century at least†, the era current in Ceylon was reckoned from 483 B.C., which was the date for the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha; and the *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa* tells us that Vohārika Tissa ascended the throne "752 years, 4 months and 10 days after the death of Buddha."‡ His accession, therefore, took place in 269 A.D. (i.e., 752 minus 483).

(2) The 52 years which Mr. Pieris assigns (p. 14) to Rukulē Parākrama Báhu represents, it is true, the generally accepted extent of this king's reign; but it must not be forgotten that Vidāgama, in the colophon to his *Kāvyā Lakshana Manimālā*, says that the work "was composed in the 54th year" of the same King's reign.

In conclusion I should like to congratulate both Mr. Pieris and the Ceylon Asiatic Society on this valuable Paper. Mr. Pieris has placed students of Ceylon History under a debt of gratitude to him, and the Society cannot do better than give effect to the hope he expresses and take action to organise a systematic investigation without delay. Mr. Pieris' efforts, as illustrated in his Paper, are full of promise and guarantee a rich and valuable harvest of archaeological and historical treasure.

* Fleet, Geiger, Wickremasinghe and others. (Dr. Fleet in his *Origin of the Buddhavarsha* (J.R.A.S., 1909) ascribes the establishment of the era of 544 B.C. to the reign of Parākrama Báhu I., and states: "In any case, no further use of a reckoning from the death of Buddha is traceable in Ceylon after the year 236, until we come to the Buddhavarsha" (ib. p. 326). As far as the tenth and eleventh centuries are concerned, the argument adduced by Wickremasinghe to prove the existence of an era calculated from 483 B.C. is based on an interpolation by Wijesinha in his translation of *Mahāvamsa*, lili., 44, and on the consequent erroneous synchronism between Udaya III. and Rājendra Chóla I. Wickremasinghe has been followed blindly by Geiger. See *Contributions to Sinhalese Chronology*, by Dr. Hultzsch in J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 525 and 527-9.—Ed.)

† My Paper on "The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology" (C.E.R.A.S. Journal, 1914, Vol. XXIII., No. 67, pp. 141-230) sought to extend the period to the 15th century.

‡ Mudaliyār W. F. Gunawardhana's Edition (1908), p. 12.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SYRIAC WORDS IN TAMIL.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

The Sinhalese Catholics call "cross" and "bishop" by the names කුරුසි *kurusiya* and බිස්ප *bispu*, obviously the Portuguese "cruz" and "bispo." The Tamils use கருசு *kurusu* or கருவை *siluvai* for the first, and விஸ்பு *vīspu* or மேதீரானியர் *mēttirāṇiyār* for the second. This without the honorific termination would be *mēttirāṇi*.

Pope has recognized the origin of *siluvai* in the Syriac *slivá*, the usual word for "cross" in that language. In Malayalam it is *slibá*.

The word for "bishop" in Malayalam is *metrán*, or *métrán* (Gundert) the Syriac *métrán* and Arabic *mufrán*, both of which, though etymologically "metropolitan," are used indifferently of any bishop. Can the Tamil *mēttirāṇiyār* be originally the same? Its present form may well be the result of "striving after meaning" on the part of the learned, who make it மேதீ + பிராணி, "high authority." It is noticeable that it retains the hard *t* of the Syriac, now absent in the Malayalam.

I am indebted to Dr. C. G. Kurien for the Malayalam words.

PALIKADA OR HALIKADA?

By A. MENDIS GUNASÉKARA MUDALIYÁR.

One of the proper names occurring in the inscriptions at Vessagiri in Anurádhapura is deciphered in the *Epigraphia*

*Zeylanica** as "Palikada." Dr. E. Müller also gives it as "Palikada."† But Dr. P. Goldschmidt, the first Archæological Commissioner, who discovered these inscriptions in 1875, read the name as "Halikada," as will be seen from the following extract‡ from an official report made by him to Government:—

"The inscriptions at Wessagiri refer to the donations of two caves by the wife and son respectively, of the Brahman Halikada, who seems to be the identical Brahman mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as one of the Ambassadors sent by King Devānampiyatissa to King {Dharmāçoka. These, together with many other cave inscriptions, in which Brahmans appear as donors, furnish us with the interesting fact that originally the Brahman caste must have been a powerful and zealous member of the Buddhist community of Ceylon."

No attempt has been made in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* to justify the reading "Palikada" or to give either the derivation of the word or its Sanskrit or Pali equivalent, as it has been done in the case of some of the other proper names appearing in the inscriptions. The character representing *H*, if become obscure, may be easily mistaken for *P*. Referring to these inscriptions, Dr. Müller says "some of them are almost illegible, as the rock rapidly decays under the influence of humidity."§ When they were visited by Dr. Goldschmidt they were doubtlessly in a better state of preservation.

That "Halikada" is the correct reading is further supported by the fact that "Hālipabbata," given in the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* as the name of the Brahman of the embassy referred to, is exactly a translation of "Halikada" into Pali.

* Vol. I; pp. 18-19.

† *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 33.

‡ Sessional papers for 1875, p. 109.

§ *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 33.

(Hali=Háli, 'a class of people'; Kada=pabbata 'mountain': i.e. 'the mountain occupied by the Halis.')

The name "Hálipabbata" has strangely suffered in a similar way, for I find that it is given as "Tálipabbata" in the printed edition of the *Tiká*† (Commentary) to the *Mahāvamsa*. The English translation of the *Mahāvamsa* by Mr. George Turnour, C.C.S., gives "brahaman (of the Hali mountain),"‡ showing that the name he found in the copies of the *Tiká* consulted by him was "Hálipabbata" and not "Tálipabbata". All Sinhalese manuscript copies which I have been able to examine (including the copy in the Colombo Museum Library) give "Hálipabbata", and that this is the correct word is evident also from the fact that it is supported by the excellent Cambodian copy§ of the *Tiká* preserved in the said library.

Hálipabbata, as the name of a mountain or hill (after which the Brahman referred to was named) is the same as Sálipabbata, frequently mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The following extract will be found interesting for perusal in connection with this note:—

"Those ancient people, who are grouped along the western heights of the Grecian Tomaros, from north to south, are the Hellopes. These are the mysterious beings who have for centuries provoked the curiosity and the despair of the classical student. They are the "Helo-pes" or "Chiefs of the Hela," and their land is called Hellopia—the land of the Hela Chiefs; their country "Hella-Dos" or the "Land of Hela, their tribe the Doda," and their priests are named Selli or Brahmins."

* Cf. origin of the name *Vessagiri* (*Vessa*, 'a class of people'; *giri*, 'mountain': i.e. 'the mountain occupied by the Vessas'.) Vide *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XX. v. 16.

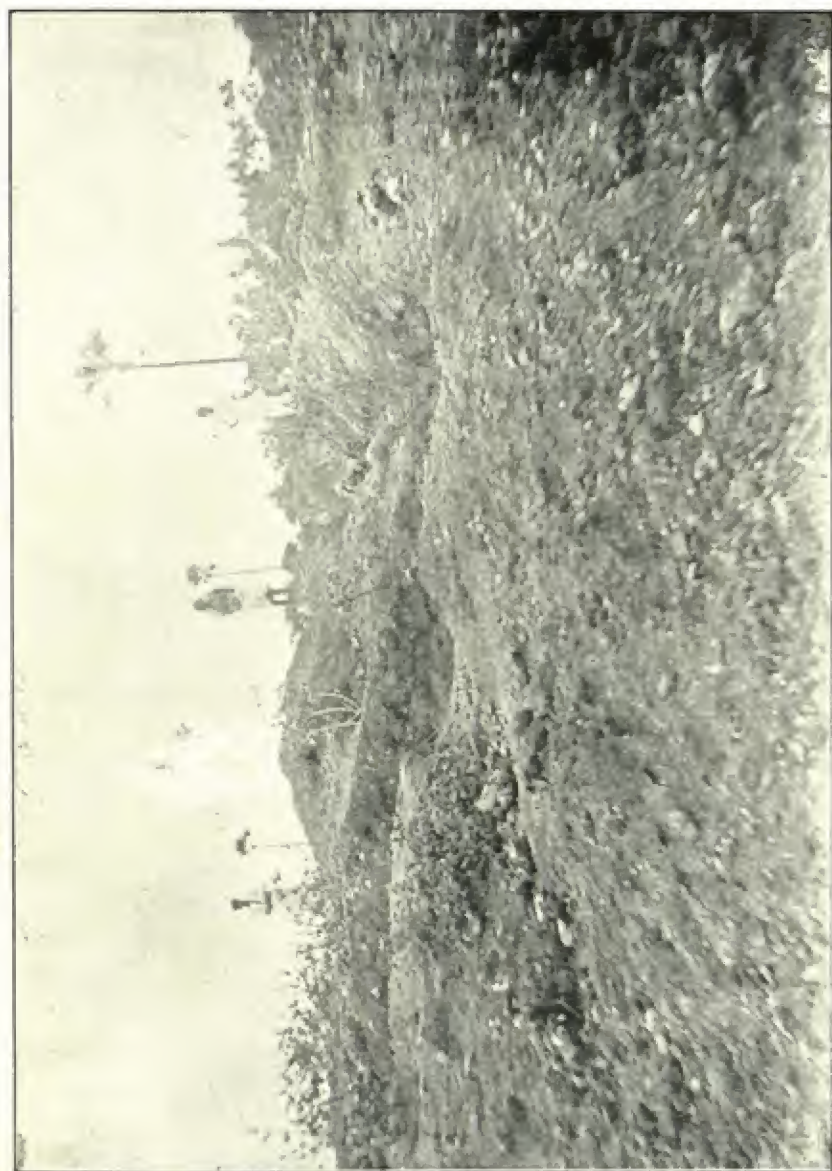
† Govt. Edition of 1895. p. 211.

‡ Edition of 1837. p. 69.

§ Vide footnote on p. 78 of Prof. Geiger's English translation of the *Mahāvamsa*.

¶ *India in Greece*, by E. Pococke, p. 126 (London, 1852.)

PLATE I.



THE CHUNNĀGAM EXCAVATION.

(See page 21.)

PLATE II.



STONE FINIALS FROM KANTARÓDAL.

(See pages 20, 24, 25, 26.)



PLATE III.



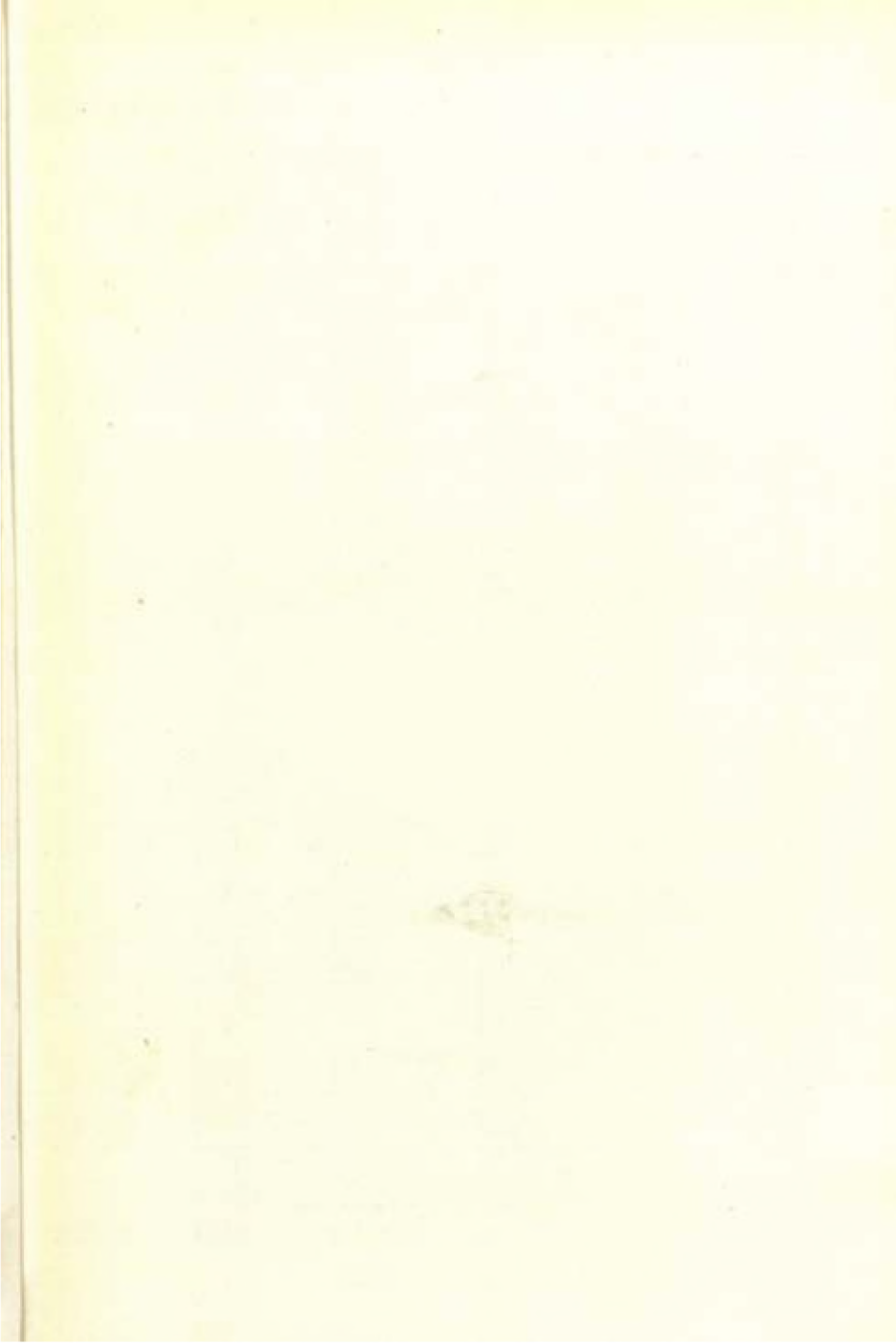
SPECIMENS OF STONework FROM KANTARÓDAL.

(See page 25.)

PLATE IV.



FRAGMENTS OF BUDDHIST IMAGES FROM KANTARÓDAL.
(See page 26.)

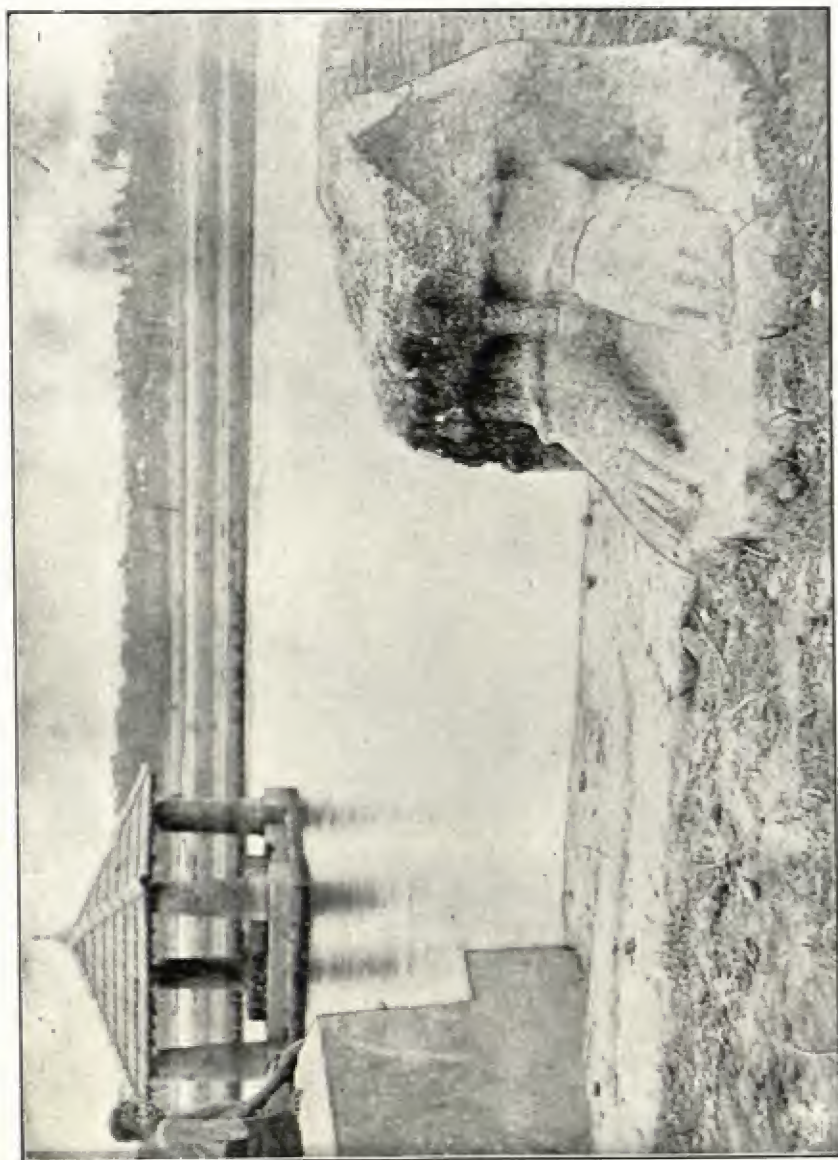




FRAGMENT OF THE LARGE BUDDHA AT KANTARÓPAL.

(See page 27.)

PLATE VI.



BASE OF A KING'S STATUE AT MAKAYAPPIDDI.

(See page 26.)



NOTICE

Geiger's "Mâldivian Literary Studies," translated by Mrs. Willis and edited with Appendices and Plates by Mr. H. C. P. Bell (Journal C.A.S., Vol. XXVII., Extra Number, 1919), is now available, and can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary at the Colombo Museum, at the price of Rs. 5/- to Members of the Society and Rs. 7/50 to others.

JOURNAL
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1918.

VOLUME XXVI.

No. 71.—Part I.

PAPERS.

ANDREWS' JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO CANDIA IN THE YEAR 1796. (*Contd.*)
AN INSCRIPTION OF GAJA BAHU II.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries
into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts,
Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and
former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH.



SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 13, 1918.

Present :

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S., Director of Education,
in the Chair.

Mr. W. Dias Bandaranaike.
Sir J. Thomson Broom, Kt.
Mr. H. T. Cartwright.

„ R. H. Ferguson, B.A.
„ A. H. Gomes.
„ O. E. Goonetilleke, B.A.,

„ B.Sc.
„ T. Gracie.
„ C. Hartley, M.A.

„ C. W. Horsfall.
„ E. W. Kannangara, B.A.,
(Lond.).

Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Meedeniya.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Rev. W. J. Noble.

Mr. W. A. Samarasingha.

„ Leigh Smith, M.A.

„ W. T. Southorn, B.A.,
C.C.S.

„ J. N. C. Tiruchelvam.

„ F. A. Tisseverasinghe.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

„ C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.

} Honorary

} Secretaries.

Visitors: 14 Ladies and 30 Gentlemen.

1. The Chairman introduced Dr. Sayce and invited him to deliver his lecture on "Recent Excavations at Merœ—the Ancient capital of Ethiopia."

2. Dr. Sayce thereupon delivered a most interesting lecture dealing with the discovery by himself of the ancient capital of the land of Cush and Ethiopia, Merœ, and the work done there through the generosity of the University of Liverpool and of an anonymous Japanese friend of the lecturer. Among other interesting work

done, a large part of the Temple of Ammon, one of the biggest temples in all Egypt, had been excavated, and it had been shown that the city, which had a length of 9 miles from north to south, was a very magnificent one.

3. A discussion ensued, in the course of which Dr. Sayce pointed out that the people of Meröe were of a different race from the Egyptians, having features more like those of the Greeks. He stated that the race must have been the same as that of the royal race of Abyssinians to-day, which possesses the same characteristic features.

4. A vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Sir A. Bertram and seconded by Mr. Hartley, and was carried with acclamation. A vote of thanks to the chair proposed by Dr. Nell and seconded by Mr. F. Lewis brought the proceedings to a close.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 11, 1918.

Present :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, D.Litt., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
A. Mendis Gunasekara,
Mudaliyar.
W. E. Gunawardhana,
Mudaliyar.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary
„ Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business :

1. Read and confirmed minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 29th November, 1917.

2. Read and passed draft annual Report for 1917.

3. Considered an offer by Mr. John M. Senaveratne to translate and annotate certain articles by Mr. Sylvain Levi published in the *Journal Asiatique*, &c.

Resolved.—That the Council thank Mr. Senaveratne for his kind offer but regret they cannot see their way to undertake the publication of the translations at present.

4. Considered Mr. Senaveratne's Paper on "Royalty in Ancient Ceylon."

Resolved.—That the Paper be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Mr. C. H. Collins and Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana for the favour of their opinions as to the reading of the Paper at a General Meeting and its publication in the Society's Journal.

5. Laid on the table advance copy of the 2nd quarter's Journal, 1917.

6. Considered a proposal to publish Geiger's Maldivian Studies as a special monograph.

Resolved.—That the Studies be published as a special number of the Journal, that Mr. H. C. P. Bell's kind offer to edit the number be accepted with thanks, and that all arrangements be left in the hands of Mr. C. H. Collins.

7. Considered what articles should be published in the Journal after completion of "Andrews' Embassies."

Mr. Collins explained the situation. The Council approved of the arrangements made by him.

8. Considered and approved a suggestion by Dr. P. E. Pieris that the names of Officers and Council of the Society be printed in each copy of the Journal.

9. Considered and passed the election of the following new members:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) Charles Lawrence Weerasekara Perera: recommended by | } B. Horsburgh.
E. B. Denham. |
| (b) Don Frederick Suraweera: recommended by | |
| (c) Maun Thomas de Silva Amarasekara, L.L.B. (Lond.): recommended by | } Gerard A. Joseph.
C. H. Z. Fernando. |
| (d) James Benjamin de Silva Jayaratne: recommended by | |
| (e) Patrick de Silva Kularatne, B.A., B.Sc. (London): recommended by | } F. D. Jayasinha.
Gerard A. Joseph. |
| (f) Sāsanaawansālankāra Wāgiswara Karaputugala Sri Dhammalōka: recommended by | |
| (g) Dionysious Dias Chandrasekara Mutucumarana: recommended by | } F. D. Jayasinha.
A. M. Gunasekara. |
| (h) K. R. Venkataraman, B.A.: recommended by | |
| | } C. H. Collins.
Gerard A. Joseph. |

10. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1918.

Mr. Joseph pointed out that under Rule 20, Mr. C. W. Horsfall and Dr. Joseph Pearson retire by seniority and the Hon'ble Mr. K. Balasingham and Mr. R. W. Byrde by least attendance, and also under Rule 18 that Mr. C. Hartley, the Senior Vice-President retires by longest continuous service.

Resolved.—That Mr. R. W. Byrde and the Hon'ble Mr. K. Balasingham be deemed to have retired by least attendance and that Messrs. C. Hartley, C. W. Horsfall, Mudaliyar Simon de Silva and Dr. C. A. Hewavitarane be nominated for the four vacancies on the Council, and that in place of Mr. C. Hartley as Vice-President Sir Anton Bertram be nominated, and failing his accepting such office Mr. E. B. Denham be asked to do so.

Resolved.—That the following Office-Bearers be nominated for 1918:—

Vice-President:

The Hon'ble Sir Anton Bertram, Kt., K.C.
Council:

The Hon'ble Sir S. C. Obeyesekera.	Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.	„ F. Lewis.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.	W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.
A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.	Mr. C. Hartley, M.A.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.	„ C. W. Horsfall.
	Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana.
	Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar, J.P.

Honorary Treasurer:

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

Honorary Secretaries:

Messrs. C. H. Collins, C.C.S. and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

11. Considered date and business for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved.—That the Annual General Meeting be held on the 22nd March, and that the business be as follows:—

- (a) Minutes.
- (b) Presidential address.
- (c) Annual Report for 1917.
- (d) Election of Colonel Legge as an Honorary Member for Life.
- (e) Paper by Mr. W. A. de Silva on "The Ancient System of Teaching Sinhalese."

SPECIAL COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 27, 1918.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Vice-President.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, D.Litt., C.C.S., Vice-President.

A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.	Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.	The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesekera, Kt.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary
„ Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business :

1. Read and confirmed minutes of the last Council Meeting held on Monday, the 11th March, 1918.

2. The President, in moving the resolution regarding Sir John Anderson's death, said: We are met here to-day to discharge a very sad duty—to record our grief on the death of our Patron, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, and to pass a vote of condolence with his family in their bereavement. His Excellency was much interested in our work. But owing to his preoccupation with the grave affairs of State, which confronted him on arrival in the Island and engaged his attention ever afterwards during the two years of his administration, he was not able to attend our meetings as often as he would have liked. We felt cheered and stimulated by his encouraging words and looked forward to more frequent visits. But this was not to be. Great as our Society's loss is, his death has been a calamity to the general administration of the Island. The profound and universal mourning during the last few days shows how deeply he impressed himself on the popular imagination. He will live in the people's hearts as the embodiment of the best ideals of British character and statesmanship; and by laying deep the foundation of British rule in the people's love he has proved a faithful servant of the King and a true builder of his empire.

I move that we do place on record the grief of this Society on the death of its Patron, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.L.D., and express to Captain and Mrs. Anderson and the other members of his family our deep sympathy with them in their bereavement.

The motion was unanimously passed, the Council standing in silence.

3. Resolved.—That the 11th of May be fixed as the date for the Annual General Meeting.

ANDREWS' JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO CANDIA IN THE YEAR 1796.

EDITED BY J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued.*)

First Interview with the King of Candia.

14th

11 o'clock a.m., Mr. Andrews received a message from the King, "desiring his attendance at Court this evening, when he should be admitted to his presence". This intimation was conveyed with the same form as that on a like and late occasion.

Having prepared ourselves by an early dinner we were ready to meet the Supper Gama Dessah, who arrived at this side of the water a little after 4, with orders from his Majesty to conduct Mr. A., and the Gentlemen attending him, to Candia. The *Suppergama* and *Oudapalleh* Dessahs, a number of Talloomaars, with an immense suite reached our quarters $\frac{1}{2}$ after 4. The Kings pleasure being again signified, the letter apartment was entered—the letter taken out of the box it had until then been in—and with infinite form and caution folded anew in a variety of fine cloths, particular care being taken to use such only as fitted in a certain degree. This accomplished, the letter was deposited in a large silver bason or salver, over which were first laid a certain number of square pieces of fine linen, and the whole covered by a Gold cloth. Thus lodged and robed, was the letter handed over to Mr. Andrews, who placing it on his head, proceeded to the outward door, over a carpet like cloth spread for his passage. Arrived there, he gave up his burthen to one of two of his Writers prepared to be the

bearers. The moment Mr. A. had begun to move, as just described, a din of sounds issued from every quarter, which exceeded in variety and force what we had been previously accustomed to. Drums of European manufacture and beat after the manner of the Dutch, with silver trumpets, were brought in to play on this occasion. The letter carried under a canopy, supported by 4 persons of middle rank, and preceded by the presents, with surrounding guards, of our Sepoys and those of Candia, we all proceeded—handing the respective great men, in regular order. The Troops first crossed the river, then the Palankeen and servants; the horse and other presents immediately before the letter: and last of all, Mr. A. and his party, accompanied by the Candian Gentry. We reached the opposite banks of the river exactly at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. The Supper Gama Da then told Mr. A., he would move on in front, and that after a short time the gentlemen might follow in Palankeens. Matters were thus arranged for our better convenience, as we could not proceed in front of the procession, we therefore waited a reasonable period, and did not reach the Choultry, at which all were to rendezvous, until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8.

This place is full 3 miles from the river, and better than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the Palace. The weather proved unfavourable; rain continued to fall during almost the entire evening: the roads were consequently in many places extremely unpleasant, which induced, or indeed obliged us to walk a good deal, as the bearers got on with great difficulty when we were in the Palankeens. There is however but one very bad passage, which leads through Paddy fields for about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile with the extremities steep and rocky. We crossed a bridge formed by one stone, upwards of 18 feet in length and from 7 to 8 in breadth: the work beneath is composed of brick and chinam. Five barriers of slender texture are placed along this road at different stations, each of which was

guarded by about 20 men, all Malays—deserters no doubt from the Dutch. At the three last were placed 2 small brass guns (2 pounders) one on each side the road, run through, close to the barriers, (*sic*) and pointing towards the quarter we advanced from. The Villages, or numerous houses dispersed along, appeared principally inhabited by the above class of people, who were to be seen, of both sexes, young and old. The Choultry we halted at, is a wretched hovel, little suited for the reception of an Ambassador, particularly when so near to the seat of Empire; or indeed is it of a piece with our late accomodations. Here we had to remain until $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10—a part of which time we passed at Supper.

The approach of the Attarah Corleh, Supper Gama, and Oudapalleh Dessahs with some Talloomaars being announced, we again got under way in the same order we had proceeded from the river. Here a message was again delivered from the King, intimating his Royal pleasure as before. Proceeding a few hundred yards, we met the 2nd Minister, whose approach had, as usual, been announced by the cracking of Whips. *Changing partners* as the rank of those by whom we were escorted rendered it necessary, and then entering the Town, we shortly arrived under cover of a Bogaha tree of immense size, its branches extending quite across the street, which was here very broad: the body stood at some distance to the right, encompassed in a work of stone apparently ancient, that added much to its native Majesty. Under this tree was ranged in regular order a post of great men, with the Prime Minister at their head.

Innumerable lights blazing forth from small pots, resembling chafing dishes, with long handles affixed to them, and carried by boys, rendered every surrounding object discernible, and displayed a sight which all combined to render equally grand as it was novel and imposing. The Candian Court dress which all the great

people wore on this occasion, is rich, showy and wonderfully calculated, when grouped, to express elevated rank. Upwards of 20 in this attire, formed one line, immediately in the rear of which stood attendants bearing Kittisauls, Tallipots, and the various insignia of office and rank. Here commenced the street of Troops, which line the remainder of the way to the palace.

Mr. Andrews received a last Message from Majesty, rather more peremptory than former ones; it was delivered by the Prime Minister and expressed the King's *Orders* that he (Mr. A) and the Gentlemen accompanying him should repair as soon as possible to his presence. Again ushered by new Friends, we advanced at a slow pace, the streets decorated on both sides with flowers, and various kinds of verdure, suspended in different forms from ropes passed along poles placed at short distances from each other; and here and there in front of the houses of great men, exhibitions of different orders of architecture and other ornamental matters, of a stately, pompous, and what is extraordinary, of a regular and well proportioned appearance—the whole advantageously lit up, and perfectly discernible.

The streets, towards the close of this way, displayed an encrease of show in everything—the Troops of Motley, curious, but improved appearance, drawn up in various order; a range of Elephants in the rear; (some of the finest I had ever seen) crowds of spectators; the variegated, grand and curious appearance of all in motion; and the air echoing with whatever was conducive to sound—left only room for wonder at all beheld.

We at length arrived at the Area opposite the Palace, where having halted a few minutes, we advanced through a temporary Arch, formed by a grand piece of machinery in front—this led to the outward gateway which was entered under a discharge of guns and the continuation of former uproar. Having reached an irregular square,

surrounded by different buildings, to which the Sepoys and our immediate servants were admitted, Mr. A. resumed his former burthen and passing a large folding door attended by the two Ministers, was introduced directly into the body of the Palace:* the Gentlemen attending Mr. A. T. Mootiah Moodelier and P. A. Moodelier, the Company's Interpreters, with a writer Myly Condapuh, were the only persons admitted here. The steps leading up to this door, as well as those on the outside of all, were lined by a class of men, differing in dress and features, as well as in the superiority of their

* Heydt's description of the approach of the embassy which he accompanied to the palace and into the presence of the King agrees exactly with the accounts of Andrews' experiences given here. I annex a sketch of a tentative restoration of the palace kindly furnished by Mr. Codrington which will help to make these accounts better understood (*vide* Appendix B). In 1785 a new Audience Hall was begun by Rájádhi: in all probability it is the present building known by that name. The dimensions given by Pybus, 50 feet by 30 more or less agree with those of the present Audience Hall, and it is likely that Rájádhi went on the same lines as the old one. Possibly one end of the building was used as an Audience Hall at the time of Andrews' visit. Mr. Codrington says "There is no doubt that cases were heard by the chiefs in the Hall and the King sometimes listened through a window. *D'Oyly's Diary*. 1810-1813, mentions the Maha Mandapé of the Maha Wásala".

The King sat at the Máligáwa end behind a screen with a division in it, and Pridham says that in his time there were pointed walls five feet thick round that end. They are shown in old pictures.

There is also appended (Appendix C) a comparative table of different stages of approach to the royal presence of the six embassies:—Agreen (1736), Pybus (1762), Boyd (1782), Andrews (1795 and 1796) and Macdowall (1800). They agree more or less except as regards the audience hall. In Pybus' case it was raining and he was apparently hurried round by a side verandah to an inner court and so missed the outer hall (No. 5 in sketch). Between 1762 and 1796 the Dutch had sacked and possibly burnt Kandy.

In view of the pillars in the present audience hall being more and more ornamented as one goes towards the old Palace end, Mr. Codrington is inclined to think that it corresponds to No. 5 in the sketch (Appendix B). In 1803, after the rebuilding of the palace, it may have been used by the King as an audience hall, or it may have been permanently turned into one.

[The fact that the pillars are less ornamental at the Máligáwa end of the Audience Hall is accounted for by the original pillars having been removed owing to decay and replaced by others taken from the building now used as the Kandy Museum.—H.W.C.]

size and make, from any we had before seen; they were armed with sword and target, both of immense size—the former undrawn with a red scabbard, and advanced in the cavalry charging position. I understand these Troops to be Tanjoreens, and that a series of the same people have for a considerable length of time served the Kings of Candia. Without, and close to this last entrance stood a numerous band of Musicians, dressed in a superior stile—Trumpets and a species of Hautboy were their principal instruments—and tho' giving a full scope to their lungs, the ear was not affected to the same disagreeable pitch, which others had done: there was something in their stile of playing uncommon, and not altogether displeasing.

We were now entered the palace, and a sudden transit from the thundering sounds abroad, to the perfect stillness that succeeded, prepared the mind in some measure for what ensued—a scene the most extraordinary, I may say, the most marvellous that faried fancy could well picture, and one which impressed me with more of unusual sensation—whether of wonder, horror, or disgust, than I had ever experienced at any time of my life.

A hall of considerable length first presented itself; on each side and round the whole were rows of pillars, distributed through which and along the walls appeared regular ranges of Troops, uniformly placed together—some supporting spears in different positions, others, undrawn swords, and many firelocks cased over with white cloth, as the swords were with red, or sheathed in scabbards of that colour. Turbans of unusual dimensions, helmets, and bonnets, chiefly distinguished the respective bodys—all preserving most statue-like postures as we advanced, ushered by the principal officers.

Thus early did the scene summons my utmost amazement: Stage effect on some Tragic occasion had

given but a faint idea of what I saw. The entrance to this hall was near the right extremity. Having proceeded to the end we reached an open space forming a small square, to the right of which was a hall of inferior size—two sides of which, opposite each other, were formed by a double row of pillars, the third constituted the boundary between *this*, and the *sacred* part of the Palace—an arch way, with a white curtain drawn across it, nearly filled up the other, to which, as directed, we instantly fronted, Mr. Andrews standing in the Center, bearing, as already mentioned, the silver dish &c. All was silence and expectation. At a particular signal the outward curtain, or that of the arch next us, being removed, six different curtains,* passed between as many arches in front, but in a separate apartment, successively followed: a thin gauze one, only, remaining across an Arch at the furthest extremity leading to a third apartment. This for a few seconds gave a dim view of Majesty, which on it's removal blazed forth in greatest splendour, distant from where we were about 24 yards. We immediately knelt—

* Heydt says nothing of curtains, though he mentions the tapestries and white linen cloth with which the halls were decorated. His illustration on page 274 of the King's reception of the Ambassadors shows a fine piece of tapestry filling up the entire end of the Audience Hall, behind the King, who is seated on his throne. This tapestry depicts an interview between three (or four?) Dutchmen in late seventeenth or early eighteenth century costume with three-cornered hats, and three (or two?) Kandyans; one of the Dutchmen is seated under a tree, and the others are apparently presenting the Kandyans to him. The last Kandyan has at his heels a dog with a very curly tail—we have seen the breed at the present day in Ceylon. There is open country behind with a mountain very like Alagalla in the background. This tapestry must have been presented to the King by the Dutch Company; there is nothing Oriental about it except the subject. It had probably rotted away in the moist climate of Kandy during the quarter of a century before the arrival of Pybus, for he does not mention this nor any tapestry. He states that there were six curtains dividing the audience hall into sections, the first was of white linen, the second was red, the third white, and so on. Boyd notices only the white curtain at the entrance, but probably the others were there. Andrews mentions three curtains only; Macpherson says that "at the entrance to the hall of audience several curtains were drawn".

the 2 ministers, with the 5 great Dessahs to the right and left in front, and the 3 interpreters in the rear, fell prostrate, their chests touching the ground, and half rising with as much expedition as possible, repeated the same twice; between each time certain invocations were spoken, and after the 3rd followed a prayer. The King here spoke, ordering them, as I understood to remain. They again prostrated themselves 3 separate times, in the same manner, and with the same invocations as before. The King uttered some words; the tone of voice conveyed unusual sensations; it seemed to issue as from some concavity, and was not attended by any motion on his part. The prostrating crew once more offered a few words in supplicating tone, when something briefly pronounced by the King caused all to rise, and ascending by 3 steps leading up to the arch in front, we entered the apartment that had just opened to our view, marched on about 4 steps and again knelt, while the ceremony just now described was performed by the same persons. Rising once more, and having advanced a like distance we reached a carpet with which the remainder of the floor was covered; here we knelt and the others went through the former prostrations, amounting in all to 18. This over, Mr. Andrews rose (we inferior characters remaining fixed) and attended by the 2 Ministers on his right and left, advanced to the foot of the Throne, where he knelt while the King, who himself uncovered the bason, took out the letter, and placed it by him. Mr. A. was then conducted back, in which direction he moved, fronting the King all the while, and resumed his place kneeling in the center of us. The 2 Ministers repaired to the right and left of the furthest arch'd way, which formed the center of a partition that separated the room we were in, from that in which stood the Throne—elevated on a stage of 3 feet high, further on a very few yards—here they knelt invisible to the King, but at the moment of

addressing him, when the petitioning posture of the head and hands discovered those parts. Immediately in front of us, to the right and left, knelt the different Dessahs, one of which (the Oweh)* with a Candian Interpreter, remained close to ours, who communicated directly with Mr. A.

This being the station we mostly occupied whilst the rays of glorious Majesty beamed forth on our humbled persons, I shall postpone detailing what followed, to take a view of the Magic scene that had just opened.

The apartment is about 20 yards in length and 12 in breadth—crossed by 6 light and elegant arches, composed entirely of ornamental materials. On each side, 6 pillars connected by arches similar to the others of which they are the common support—the whole decorated with white Muslin puckered into a variety of shapes,† and here and there flowers, form ranges entirely distinct from the center, and from within which the King is not visible. Round the pillars and in front of the intermediate spaces were placed Chandeliers and other Machines with lights: the former contained Candles of uncommon size, those from their whiteness I judge to have been made of cinnamon oil or wax, the exclusive size of which the K of Candia reserves for himself. Directly in a line with the pillars were ranged men in plain white Candian dress, one on each side nearest the Throne held representations of the Sun and Moon, the next, two very large bows handsomely painted, and attending them 2 persons with clusters of variously painted arrows, partly covered over

* Ūva. The Disáwa of Ūva was Appaimmana.

† What is known as *reli pālama*—the Kandyan style of decoration: "arches formed across it, with bamboo or some other kind of wood, which were covered with white muslin, intermixed with pieces of red silk spotted Bengal handkerchiefs, puffed much in the same manner as a lady's ruff for her neck" (Pybus, p. 78). "These arches and two rows of pillars that supported them, and formed two aisles, to the right and left, were very prettily adorned with festoons of muslins, etc., of various colours" (Boyd, p. 212).

with a gold and silver kind of cloth, the remainder, spears, swords and long and small gold and silver tipped sticks. The men that held the bows and arrows and spears, had a white tape-like strap placed beneath the underlip—from which it passed upwards to the back part of the bonnet, and there fastened.

In the rear of these persons knelt all inferior courtiers—that is—every one under the rank of Dessah. The partition in our front, by which this room was separated from that where stood the Throne, appeared very brilliant. To the right and left were 4 immense looking glasses, between which as well as above and below, were dispersed a variety of gold and silver and other decorations. The arch was marked by various coloured mouldings, and hung round with gold fringe—above it was a diminutive representation of the Sun and Moon in gold and silver.

Within this arch at the short distance I already mentioned, was the King—seated on his Throne—in all the pomp, magnificence, and luster, that it is possible to conceive. The Throne appeared of solid gold, variously worked, and resembling in form a large sized arm chair, of gold, rising to a peak in the center of the back, on which was placed a large knob of gold, worked in to an oval form; this part, as well as the whole of the Throne, was studded with precious stones of every description and size.

The King magnificently dressed; but his robes so bedaubed with gold, and so played upon by the counter-acting luster of innumerable gems, that I can not be particular in ascertaining any part of it. I could observe that contrary to the general principle of dress in Candia, his sleeves reached as low down as the wrist—something very ponderous or unwieldy hung from his neck, to the lower part of which and about the place where our watch chain makes its appearance was affixed an emerald of the

largest dimensions I had ever heard of. From under his robes, immediately below the knees, appeared long draws of a red and yellowish colour, and very rich—about half the small of the leg was visible, and ornamented with a gold tape or ribbon, drawn across in the old Roman stile. The slippers covered with gold and inlaid here and there with different kinds of stones, were pulled up behind. The arms partly placed on the Throne, allowed his hands to rest in an easy posture about the center of the thigh: in the left hand he held a handkerchief, in the right, as nearly as I was able to discern, a sabre in miniature, about 8 or 9 inches long, the scabbard black, tipd with gold—a blazing stone was all I could distinguish of the handle. The legs and thighs forming a convenient angle, allowed his feet to rest apparently at ease in front. On the whole his position was extremely graceful, and highly majestick, tho' for some time he looked a perfect statue, one very gentle motion of his body, and the left hand brought up twice to the forehead, discovered, however, that this Candian divinity existed and gave strong reasons for supposing that the voice we had heard was in reality his, which might have been previously doubted; for never at the moment of warmest delusion, was spectacle so strange, so altogether magical, painted to my fancy—nay even at the period of youth when such visions are most likely to be encouraged.

The Crown was also of solid gold, light and elegantly constructed. It seemed of quadrangular form, from each point of which issued a prong ornamented with precious stones—to the right and left of the center were also two; I cannot say whether a something dark on the end of them was of a precious nature or not. Throughout the body of the Crown appeared rubies, emeralds, &c., &c. In short—the Crown, Throne and dress of the King appeared to be made up of or ornamented with every sparkling, gaudy, and precious quality, that the mineral world had

to bestow—and in the order and method which regulated their distribution, as well as that of the corresponding emblems on and about his person there was equal subject for admiration and astonishment. Over the Throne hung a Canopy made of white muslin, fine cloth, or might possibly have been Gold Cloth—it was very neatly shaped—the species of work from the distance I was at looked more like filigree than any other, the border or festoon that hung lowest was worked in to a variety of well disposed and regular forms. Three steps led up to the Throne, to the right and left of which were placed two large square cushions, covered with silver cloth, which served to give it a becoming fullness. The inside of the partition I have described, was entirely lit up, and reflected directly on the person of the King and Throne, while the space in the rear, not very extensive, tended by its obscurity to render both more refulgent. Here stood 10 or 12 men (Tanjoreens) unarmed, or without any insignia of office. To the right and left, on the inside the arch were placed the persons (they are said to have been females) who acted as Chowrey burdaars.* The motion of the Chowrey was all we could distinguish.

Thus as nearly as I can recollect, or my confined capacity for description will allow me to relate, was composed the scene we had to gaze on, situated, as already mentioned, at the extreme border of a carpet which covered the space between us and the Throne. To speak the effects a combination so extraordinary must have had on any person contemplating such a spectacle for the first time, would be attempting at more than perhaps those better qualified would presume to do. Hoping therefore, that my situation is conceived as having entered this luminous apartment or hall (the center arches in perspective) so lit up as to express it's most trifling orna-

* Women carrying large fans (fly-whisks made of yak tails.—H.W.C.) (*Chāmara*, Sinh.) as represented on the inner walls of the Old Palace at Kandy.

ments—the various orders of Courtiers and others dispersed along and behind the Colonades on each side—the splendid dress of the former, together with the supplicant postures of all—these extraordinary objects continued to the furthestmost extremity, where through an arch in its center, decorated in the most artful and superb stile, the King appeared seated up on his Throne, blazing forth in every light likely to express Majesty, and with demure, imperious, and absolute deportment, a deportment well suited to the humbled state of his votaries, and servants—trusting, I say that such my situation, is in some measure understood, I will return to what took place while we remained here.

The King, who when he spoke did not otherwise appear to do so than that a sound was heard to come from about the Throne, (so majestically motionless did he remain) some moments after Mr. A's return to our kneeling row, said a few words, which the Prime Minister on the left side the Arch (as already described) took up—and from an easy state of the kneeling position (the body resting backwards on the feet, hands clasped, by the fingers passing through each other and placed on the lap) he brought his head down to within a few inches of the floor half turning to his left, with hands closed, fingers extended, and projecting diagonally downwards, in which situation he implored or addressed the King. Having done which, and received as I suppose an order to make known his royal will, he brought himself back to the first position, and then sung out his Majestys titles, after them followed what was intended for Mr. A.

The Oweh Dessah, who, as I have observed, was immediately next us, imparted what the Minister had repeated, to his own interpreter, in the language he had received it, (the Cingalese) this interpreter explained it to the Company's in Malabar and by the latter person was conveyed to Mr. Andrews in English; it expressed his

Majesty's order to Mr. Andrews and the gentlemen with him to sit down. This, in obedience to established etiquette, as granting extraordinary and condescending indulgence, we could not comply with, until enforced by a second mandate. Such being made known through the proper persons (the same) and understood by the King, he again deigned to repeat his former pleasure, which was imparted through the former channel and with the same ceremony. We *then* all sat down, careful to avoid placing our feet in front; as such forgetfulness would have been deemed as insulting to Majesty, as had we stood up, or used any other mode of being more fully at ease. In this manner was delivered every question or order from the King to Mr. A., and answered by the latter with the same regularity. From the moment of Mr. A's communicating any question or observation to his interpreter, to the time that the answer was given him by the regular course, there was generally a lapse of between 20 and 30 minutes, more frequently nearer the latter period.

The King then informed himself of Lord Hobart's health—that of the different members of the Government of Madras, and General Stewart's. He closed those instances of his benevolently gracious goodness by asking how Mr. A. had been treated since he arrived within his dominions, and whether he had enjoyed health since that period. We were all included in the latter part. He next bestowed his blessing on Lord Hobart, and I think some of the other great men, which Mr. Andrews answered by bowing twice, in gratitude for such bounty towards his superiors.

The object of Mr. A's mission was alluded to—by whom he had been sent—and whether he was the bearer of any presents for Majesty. Mr. Andrews replied, that if permitted he would disclose the object of his mission, which answer became necessary, as his being allowed to do so, was to be considered an indulgence, and therefore

to be ordered twice. This part of the King's pleasure was not now enforced, but Mr. A. merely ordered to withdraw and deliver over to the Ministers the presents he had brought. We consequently all rose, the Ministers and others having first gone through the same number of prostrations practiced when advancing at the close of every 6, a few words in like manner repeated by the King, permitted no doubt of their retiring, as he formerly granted leave to approach. We fronted towards his Majesty during our progress backwards, and kneeling at the regulated distances reached our first station at the outward arch'd way—the curtain of which being drawn across, we stood up, and handed as before returned by the way we had entered. All were fixed in the stations they occupied when we first made our appearance. Reaching the outward door of the body of the Palace, we passed into the Court yard, where some conversation took place between Mr. A. and the Ministers, and having delivered over charge of everything in the way of presents, we shortly again stood in front of the Arch which was once more to bless us with the sight of this great King.

The ceremony was exactly the same that attended our first *entré*, for I cannot term it introduction.

The King in his present enquiries, noticed the Army and Navy; and being informed that his orders concerning the presents were duely attended to, he adverted to Mr. Andrews's mission, who begged leave to say, "that he had the honor of being the bearer of a letter from the Government of Madrass to his Majesty, accompanied by the Treaty agreed on between his Majesty's servants and the above Government, the preliminaries of which had been fully confirmed by his Majesty. This Treaty being now perfected on the part of the Madrass Government, it only waited to be illuminated by his Majesty's approval, to be made completely valid."

“The Madrass Government anxious for the honor of such an alliance with his Majy., as well as convinced of the advantages that would in consequence mutually accrue to the dependants on both states, had charged him to exert every means towards effecting this desired object with all possible expedition. He trusted therefore that on these considerations H. M. would condescend to give the matter his attention, and be graciously pleased to honor the present Treaty with his signature.”

The King briefly gave to understand, that it was his intention to consider on the business now proposed, and that he should hereafter apprise Mr. A. of his pleasure.

Mr. Andrews attempted in vain to argue, to inform himself more particularly on the score of this strange, peremptory, and unexpected language—but to no purpose. He was told in a private conversation with the Oweh and Supper Gamah Dessahs, which latter came forward at this critical occasion, (a very sufficient proof of the part he has been suspected of acting all along) that his Majy.’s declaration must be received as positive—that any alteration in it could not be as much as proposed—and to convey such proposition, would be to forfeit their lives! He was therefore to rest satisfied with what he had heard. There was no other channel through which to address the King, but the Court Interpreter, the Oweh Dessah, and the *good Supper Gama* appeared careful, indeed determined, that no remonstrance or explanation from Mr. Andrews should be offered (a most provoking situation for Mr. A. to have been placed in and a true picture of the bondage as well as the ignorance in which the sovereign of Candia is encircled!)

Mr. A. warned these gentlemen to recollect that he had attempted to urge the wishes of the Government of Madrass, and the acceptance of the Treaty this night, as it did not follow that he would have it in his power to wait his Majesty’s pleasure for a more final answer:

in the case of a failure of the measure he had now in vain exerted himself to bring about, no blame could consequently fall to his share.* To this the Supper Gama Dessah peevishly replied, that Mr. A. need not make himself uneasy as to any delay he was to experience—none was likely to happen; and he might rest assured of being shortly *dismissed* by his Majesty! This might possibly have been differently meant from the light in which it struck me—to me—it appears unequivocally to denote what further may be expected from this Court on the present occasion.

This private debate at an end the King resumed la parole, and ordered Mr. Andrews and his party to return to their quarters; we in consequence rose, and withdrew as formerly. Having reached the square abroad, a few words passed between Mr. A. and the first Minister, after which we were handed to a large building on one side of the Court, and having ascended a flight of steps, we entered a long unmeaning room, lined throughout with white cloth. At one end stood 3 clumsy Tables spread with fruit and sweetmeats, and placed in front of benches erected along the wall. We remained here from about 1 until past 3 o'clock, when acquainted that some great men waited our attendance below; we repaired there, and in a short time after were conducted out of the Palace, in the same manner we had entered, with the exception that no discharge of guns took place, nor did any musick play.

The Ministers having accompanied us about 100 yards, took their leave. The Dessahs continued until we got out the Town, and then handed us over to certain

* "Andrews is extremely unpopular at Court of Kandy, for nonconformity and open contempt of ridiculous and tiresome though not degrading points of etiquette. Both parties consider Andrews' Treaty as contrary to their interests."

(Letter from Hon. F. North to Lord Mornington, dated 27 October, 1798, in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II., p. 230.)

Talloomaars, charged by his Majesty to see us safe back to our Quarters, which duty they effected most punctiliously. We took leave of each other $\frac{1}{2}$ before 5 o'clock.

The distance from our present residence to Candia, or more properly, the King's palace which was our utmost stretch, I reckon three miles and a half—and our progress, so tedious and disagreeable was entirely owing to those causes already mentioned.

Among the Troops drawn out to receive us this evening, which I have forgot to notice, was a corps dressed in a most whimsical style—their uniform resembling what the Portuguese wore some centurys ago. In features they appear like the black people generally known by that appellation, tho' bearing more marks of European distinction, than are usually met with.

This evening a messenger waited on Mr. Andrews on the part of the King, desiring to know the state of his health after the fatigues of yesterday, and whether he had reached his quarters in safety. These mighty kind enquiries replied to, Mr. Andrews requested the messenger to convey a message from him to his Majesty's Ministers, to the following purport—"That the end for which he (Mr. A) was deputed to his Candian Majesty, not having been, contrary to his expectations, answered in any degree, or a period fixed for its accomplishment, during his visit at Court the night before—he was now under the necessity of declaring, in consequence of letters he had lately received, as well as from other considerations, that if not admitted the following evening to an audience, in order to perfect or establish the object of his mission, he woud most positively, in such case, set out on his return to Columbo the following morning."

15th.

A long conversation took place on this occasion, where some very paultry allusions were made to the presents brought by Mr. Andrews and even doubts started

that the like had ever been intended by the Governor of Madrass for the King of Candia. He, however, combatted these gentlemen without much difficulty, and seized the opportunity to be very explicit on the present relative situation of our Nation and theirs—observing—that, “such were the presents the Madrass Government had thought proper to send, not in the light of Tribute as the Dutch were wont to do, but as a matter of compliment from a great Nation”.

Mr. A., was further urged to recollect that the importance of the business he was the bearer of, demanded on the part of the Candian Government great deliberation, and circumspection—a farcical mode of reasoning at this crisis, and which was given it's proper weight. A repetition of Mr. A.'s final determination concluded the meeting.

According to his declared intention Mr. A. directed every preparation for departure, in the event of the King's not previously intimating his wish, or order, for his attendance at Court this night.

Again were the exertions and sensibility of our young friend the Dessah called into action—this I had a particular opportunity of witnessing. About 10 o'clock at night happening to be at his house on some private pursuit, I was requested to be the bearer of a Message he has just received from Candia, and also to convey to Mr. A. his wish to be allowed to visit him just then. The unseasonable hour rendered his reception doubtful—and the importance of the communication he had to make made him extremely anxious to communicate either immediately with Mr. A. or through any person having access to him. I was therefore intreated in the most earnest manner to add my influence to many arguments offered to induce Mr. A., to delay his intended departure the following morning. I should thereby, was it added, confer not only a general obligation on his

Majesty's servants, but add to those he (the young Dessah) already acknowledged himself under to me.

Early this morning we were prepared to set out on our return to Columbo. At the instance, however, of our friend, Mr. A. agreed to wait until 10 o'clock, being assured that intelligence satisfactory to Mr. A. would be received before that hour. 17th.

At 10 the Dessah visited Mr. A. None beside the interpreters attended. It was then agreed to delay our journey until the 19th when solemn promises were given that we should be then received at Court.

Mr. A., was informed this morning of the Prime Ministers being taken ill, and that his visit to Candia must consequently be postponed. A messenger was on this instantly dispatched to Ministers, to say—"if His Majesty did not think proper to receive *him*, as he had been pleased to intimate—he trusted H. My. would in that case grant him leave to return to Columbo. And in the event of *such* leave not being granted him, he would *then* be under the necessity of returning, without his Majesty's sanction". 18th.

About 8 o'clock this night, as Mr. A. was about to dispatch a letter to the King of Candia, intimating his final resolution of departing, enumerating the various and successive order of unnecessary and frivolous causes brought forward to prolong his stay here to the present lengthened period, at this critical moment a messenger from our friend the Dessah acquainted Mr. A. that he was on his way to visit him.

The strongest assurances were now given that we should be seen the 20th at night. But promises as solemnly made, had been frequently broken: and had it not been on account of him who was at present the bearer of them, and the mode in which he vouched for their sincerity, Mr. Andrews would not, after what had

already happened, have run the risk of any further insult. It was agreed on to remain.

19th.

I this day walked out about 6 miles from our quarters and took a very considerable circuit in my way home. I could discover nothing deserving of particular attention—no remains of ancient buildings, or modern ones of any importance. The scene was in general however filled up by objects more immediately interesting—a country most fancifully disposed displaying a variety of beautys, and presenting throughout the effects of high cultivation and the most persevering industry.

We were given to understand this morning that his Candian Majesty had issued the most peremptory orders to prevent the falling of any rain until Mr. Andrews should have performed his visit at Court—Nay—the great King even extended his bountiful mandate to a few days beyond such period, for our greater convenience.

Whoever has visited Candia will not find much cause for surprise, or even disgust in this instance of Kingly presumption: it is a natural emanation from a mind tutored, and organised as must be that of it's mighty sovereign—the supposed principle of all power and infallibility and the Heavens, willing, as far as depended on them, to support this general faith, withheld even their gentlest showers.

This *interference* on the part of the King, was attended with the happiest effects, which, to us proved extremely grateful: for since our arrival at Gonnoroweh, scarcely a day had passed without rain. The climate is however very pleasant, and its temperature, notwithstanding the impending, and surrounding clouds, must be the strongest promoter of health.

Second Interview with the King of Candia.

20th.

The usual intimation of his Majesty's *pleasure* was given by a Court Messenger, and our departure for

Candia commenced with the same attendants, as on a former occasion. We were this time exempted from a variety of disagreeables which the ceremony in consequence of the letter had before subjected us to—our march was simply marked by a number of lights, and preceded by no others than the great men who had come as our escort.

In the course of this visit, the inattention or indifference of the Court of Candia displayed itself on many occasions, and was no doubt intended for Mr. Andrew's observation, who could not but be forcibly struck with its deviation from the notice he had experienced, when first in a public character here.

We arrived at the Choultry about 8 o'clock, and were detained there—until past 11. The Oudapalleh and some other Dessah's then summoned our attendance—we were conducted to the great Bogahah tree, and there again detained until 12. At length the 2nd Minister joined us and we proceeded to the Palace, in front of which stood the Prime Minister and a number of courtiers, ranged as formerly. The delay here was unaccountably long; it was nearly 1 o'clock by the time we were admitted. This last ceremony was performed with the same exactness, as already described—with the exception, that Mr. A., not having to advance to the foot of the Throne in consequence of the letter—the prostrations at the last stage were only 3 and made the whole amount to 15, only, in lieu of 18, the former number.

The usual enquiries concerning Mr. A., the treatment he experienced, &c., &c., being made,—the King signified his pleasure that Mr. Andrews should return to Columbo, and condescended to say that he would take time to consider of the business with which he had been charged, and give his answer thereon, at a future period, to the Government of Madrass.

Mr. Andrews here again attempted in vain to obtain

a direct or positive answer on the subject of the Treaty. The Suppergama Dessah interfered as usual—representing in strong terms, but in a low tone of voice, the impropriety of urging anything, after the King had once declared his will. This brought on a conversation, through the medium of the Interpreters, between Mr. A. and the Oweh and Suppergama Dessahs—during which the latter rose, and passing to the right, withdrew along that range. We very soon observed the King to incline his head towards his right downwards, whence the Suppergama D. addressed him from behind the Throne. He afterwards resumed his place, soon after which the King put an end to any further business by a few words to the Prime Minister.

The Dessahs to the right and left made 3 prostrations—three passed into the ranges to the right and left—and two withdrew. The latter shortly after returned with the presents the King had ordered for the Ambassador and his attendants.

A gold chain of curious, but flimsy work, was first put round Mr. A.'s neck, and a ring on his finger. The same was done to us, one after the other—the articles declining in value, as we appeared to them in consequence of rank. Next was brought and given to each a salver, containing a few articles—some of solid silver, and others lead and iron plated. Then a small bale of cloth, consisting of some odd scraps—none fine, and a few yards of silk; both this, and the salver, we went through the form of placing on our heads. The Interpreters were then served. They received no chain, but in other respects, were treated nearly as we were, at least as to the number of Articles. This over, we bowed twice for the favors we had received, and the interpreters prostrated themselves three times.

Having withdrawn, which was performed in the usual mode, we had to wait some time in the outward Hall

for the Prime Minister and Suppergama D. who were with the King. They at last made their appearance when a discourse perfectly of a piece with all we had beheld and experienced, ensued. The Suppergama D. acted as interpreter to the Minister, which office he unnecessarily arrogated to himself, the Court interpreter being present. His behaviour, however, on this, as well as every other occasion, left no room to doubt the object he has all along had in view. Independent of a line of behaviour, not to be expressed, he once or twice had the presumption to give answers to Mr. Andrews' questions, without deigning to consult the Ministers, who as well as every other person here seemed to give way to this royal favorite; and there is no doubt but his machinations (the grounds of which are as manifest, as the causes that have impelled him to action) have solely operated against the acceptance of the Treaty.

The King granted the request of some of our people who were anxious to behold him. The Subahdaur, jemahdaur, and sergeant of the Troops, with five servants, were admitted to the outward archway for a few minutes.

Wonderfully imposing and unusual as the whole scene appeared on the night of our first visit—on this occasion it had lost much of its effects. The delusion was understood—the mind was prepared for it, and consequently not liable to impressions, the effects of a combination of most extraordinary causes, unforeseen and unexpected. Besides this—the King in his deportment neglected much of that decorum he was so remarkable for on a former night. He very frequently moved—at one time, as I have just said, inclined his body to converse with a person behind the Throne—and in other respects he behaved in a manner by no means calculated to carry on the Magic which seemed to pervade the whole assembly the first time.

Our return home was marked with the same form as that described on a like occasion. It was about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 5 when we separated from the persons who formed our escort, heartily tired, of Court attendance; and particularly affected that so much of toil and patience should have been bestowed, without any part of the desired or look'd for object being the result.

21st.

The 2nd Minister visited Mr. Andrews at 2 o'clock by His Majesty's orders to formally permit of our departure. He attended our march for about 200 yards, with a numerous retinue, which was the same he had when he met Mr. Andrews here on his arrival.

Two miserable looking Europeans waited on Mr. Andrews this morning and solicited permission to return to Columbo under his protection. They mentioned being then 8 years inhabitants of Candia, whither they had fled from Trincomalee. They there found 16 other Europeans, under like circumstances, the whole of whom—themselves and 4 others excepted who made their escape some months before—had fallen victims to want and improper treatment.

The wretched appearance of these poor men seemed to attest the truth of their story, and Mr. A. felt much inclined to give them every assistance in his power. He could not, however, openly afford them protection, unless formally discharged by the King of Candia, having been in his service, and so long supported by him. At the moment of departure, this matter was mentioned to the Minister, who did not think any objections would be made to their returning with Mr. A.; he added that they might proceed—and should H. My. be displeased at such measure, advice would be sent thereof to Mr. A., who would then order them to be given up. We however had the satisfaction to get them safe back at Columbo, without any other trouble than that they themselves gave, from inability to walk.

We pursued the same road in our way back we had come, and whilst in Candian Territory made the same stages. Having reached Seetavakia we took leave of three Talloomaars that accompanied us thus far by the King's orders. Their principal business had been to see that provisions and cooleys were provided for us at the different stations.

31st.

At Avisawelle, where begin the Companys districts in this quarter, Mr. Andrews and Lt. Campbell, after taking a little refreshment, set out on horseback for Columbo, they arrived that night. We here heard of Mr. Atkinson who had left us at Attapettee a few hours after we got there. He had to travel about 70 miles or upwards, which he completed the following night between 8 and 9 o'clock, a great part on foot—the whole of our horses being at Avisawelle.

I reached Columbo the 26th the very day month I had left it for Candia.

APPENDIX A. (1.) ITINERARIES—COLOMBO TO KANDY.

AGREES—1730.		ANDREWS—1796.		MACDOWALL—1800.	
Nov. 9	Colombo to "Hangwelle."	July 27	Colombo to Nagamam (Nawagomuruwa), 14 miles and Kosgama, 8 miles.	March 13	To Cudaville (Kaduvela), 12 miles†.
10	To "Cituaque" (Sitáwaka.)			15	Hanwella.
10-27	At Sitáwaka.	29	To Aviasáwella (Sitáwaka) 8 miles.	18	Avissáwella, 6 miles.
27	To "Ruanelle."			19	Sitáwaka, 14 miles.
28	To "Hittimuly."	30	To Ruwanwella, 9 miles and Idamalpána, 11 miles.	22	Epelapitiya, 3 miles.
30	To "Alipetty" (Attápitiya.)			24	King's Garden.
Nov. 30 to Dec. 13	At Attápitiya.†	Aug. 1	To Attápitiya, 12 to 15 miles.	31	Ruwanwella (10 miles from Epelapitiya.)
14	To "Walvagatta" (Wal-gowwágoda.)	4	To Walgowwágoda and Gannoruwa, 10 miles.	April 1	Idamalpána, 8 miles.
15	To "Cananor" (Gannóruwa.)	14	Gannoruwa to Kandy, 4 miles.	3	Attápitiya, 12 miles.
24	To Kandy.			5	Walgowwágoda, 6 miles.
				7	Gannóruwa, 9 miles.
				9	Kandy.

* "Hottymullo, another small military post, is only five miles from Idamalpana. All the intervening country is extremely hilly, almost mountainous, and in consequence the road is rugged, difficult and fatiguing. The lover of nature will find remunerations for his fatigue in the beauties of the wild scenery, which are lavishly scattered in this bold and romantic part of the country." (Davy's "Account of the Interior of Ceylon," p. 357.)

† A place where the ambassadors generally must lie quiet for a time which now, for 14 days, was our fate." (Heydt.)

‡ The escort was at Pannebakari, 4 miles from Colombo, from March 8th, General Macdowall went out there on the 12th.

APPENDIX A. (2.) ITINERARIES—TRINCOMALEE TO KANDY.

PYBBS—1762.		BOYD—1782.		ANDREWS—1795.	
May		Feb.		Sept.	
5	Modara, Kottiyár to Kila-vetti, 13 miles.	5	To "Copputtorey," 9 miles.	15	To Tampalakámm, 15 miles.
6	To Sunkavillu, 20 miles.	6	To Tampalakámm, 6 miles.	16	To Kantalái, 13 miles.
7	To Panguranó, 21 miles.	7	To Giritalé, 16 miles	17	To "Alettoovelly," 16 miles.
9	To Giritalé, 30 miles.	8	To "Pernaumadoo," 10 miles.	18	To Minnéri, 14 miles.
10	To "Vishegalloo," 5 miles.	9	To Puliyanakaravaddi, 10 miles.	19	To Gonáwa, 18 miles.
12	To Nikawattawana, 23 miles.	11	To "Wisttegall, 20 miles.	20	To Nálánda, 19 miles.
13	To Gónáwa, 6 miles.	13	To Rock-River, 5 miles.	22	To ? 18 miles.
15	To Nálánda, 30 miles.	14	To Gonáwa, 16 miles.	24	To Horseputtoo†, 14 miles.
16	To Hulangomuwa, 25 miles.	15	To "Choultry" Plain, 18 miles.	25	To Gannóruwa, 10 miles.
17	To Canvetty*, 15 miles.	28	To Nálánda, 5 miles.	29	To Kandy, 4 miles.
18	To Gannóruwa, 12 miles.	March	To Allwaley, ‡ 18 miles.		
19	To Kandy, 7 miles.	1	To Osapoot, ‡ 18 miles.		
		2	To Gannóruwa, 16 miles.		
		3	To Kandy, 5 miles.		
		6			

* Canvetty = Kahawatta between Alawatugoda and Gannóruwa, near Talawinna.

† Allwaley = Elwala in Ukuwela wasama, Mátalé.

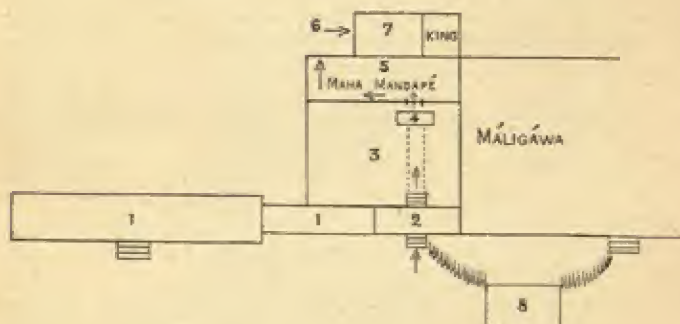
‡ "Osapoot," Horseputtoo = Hárispattu, by which is meant the first place arrived at in Hárispattu, i.e., Alawatugoda.

Pybus makes the distance he travelled 207 miles, Boyd reckons his at 172 and Andrews' journey works out at 141, but the length of the different stages is merely guesswork, and is often plainly inaccurate. Boyd was taken by a long round from Nálánda to Gannóruwa, in order ostensibly that he might approach Kandy as if he were coming from Colombo as "it had always been the custom for ambassadors to go to Kandy by way of Colombo." (p. 175.)

APPENDIX B.

TENTATIVE RESTORATION OF KING'S PALACE.

[The arrows show the direction in which Andrews was taken.]



1. Women's apartments, with refreshment room at the end next the Máligáwa (now the Old Palace).
2. Atapattu Maṇḍapé (for the guard).
3. Quadrangle.
4. Wahalkaḍa. It is shown in the picture of the palace by Lieut. Lyttleton, which forms the frontispiece to Davy's "Interior of Ceylon." It may have stood a little more forward than is shown here.
5. Maha Maṇḍapé (present Audience Hall).
6. Quadrangle.
7. Former Audience Hall.
8. The new Wahalkaḍa made by Śrī Wikrama Rája Siṅha.

APPENDIX C. ACCESS TO PALACE.

1736—AGREEN.	1762—PYBUS.	1782—BOYD.	1795—ANDREWS.	1796—ANDREWS.	1800—GENERAL MACDOWALL.
1. Entrance to Palace	Entered door of house	Outer gate with 16 steps	Outer gate	Outward Gateway	In front, flight of stone steps
2. Building with wooden pillars where guards kept watch	Passed 2nd door				Verandah (guards and chiefs) descended by another flight of steps into
3. "Platz oder Vorhof" in middle of which a stone path leading to	A square court (3 elephants and houses)	Large court	Spacious square	Irregular square surrounded by buildings	Large square surrounded by a high wall
4.		Door	Second gateway	Large folding door into body of Palace	At opposite side, a large arched gateway leading to
5. A building, very long and fairly broad. Roof rested on double row of wooden pillars between which were cannon. Went through this an out at right end	Little verandah through this into	Spacious inner court, partly covered and partly open paved with stone	Long gallery traversed as far as extreme left	Hall of considerable length with pillars. Troops' entrance near right extremity Proceeded to end	Inner court (residence of King and principal officers). Malay and Malabar guards. On right side of inner court, open arch (entrance of Hall of audience)
6. "Auf einem Platz"	Another open verandah 18' by 20' (12 guards) leading directly into	Open space in centre	(Open space not mentioned)	And reached an open space to right of which was	
7. Audience Hall	Audience Hall 50' by 30'	Facing to right appears arch with curtain opening into long hall with double row of pillars	Turning to right an arched door with curtain, opening into Audience Hall	Hall of inferior size: double row of pillars. Archway with white curtains	Audience Hall

APPENDIX D.

TOPOGRAPHY OF TOWN OF KANDY.

STREETS (Dates are those when these streets are mentioned in Board of Commissioners' Correspondence, except 1793, which is from an Ola Deed.)

- 1.—Nágaha Widiya (1818.)
 - 2.—Borowé Widiya (1818.)
 - 3.—Kambakanu Widiya
 - 4.—Kotugodéllé Widiya
- Kaikára Widiya (1818). (In a sketch of a lot of ground Kaikára Widiya is parallel to Nágaha Widiya and is joined to it by Waikunti Widiya).
- 5.—Udunuwara Widiya or Palládeniya Widiya (1824).
 - 6.—Daskara* Widiya.
 - 7.—Rája or Hetti Widiya (1793, 1818).
 - 8.—Waikunti Widiya (1818, 1823) or Kómutti Widiya (1821): a Cross Street made by last king 4 or 5 years before the English came to Kandy *vide* Board of Commissioners' Correspondence, Vol. 16, 1823, and sketch, *vide* Kaikára Widiya.
 - 9.—Kandé Widiya.
 - 10.—Swarna Kalyána Widiya (1813).
 - 11.—Ridí Widiya (1821).
 - 12.—Daladá or Kumáruppé or Astawanka Widiya.
(Plan of 1830 shows a lot of ground between Daladá Widiya and the Lake.
There is some confusion between this road and the Kumáruppé, a sapu tree near Pillaiyár Kóvil, the western gravet; D'Oyly's Diary distinctly shews that Malabar St. was Kumáruppé Widiya.)
 - 13.—Mahá Déwálé Widiya (1818).
 - 14.—Alut Widiya (1818).
(There is still Alut Widiya by the Industrial School.)
 - 15.—Kadawata Widiya (1824).
(Outside Colombo Gate or Wadugodapitiya Widiya.)

Mention in 1824 of "Balawitiya" Widiya, perhaps the same as No. 6 *ante*. (N.B.—Balawita was Harispattu.)

THE FOUR GRAVETS OR HATARA WAHALKADA (within which no chief could beat tom-toms).

- a. Korá Wahalkada
by Military Doctor's quarters (v. Capt. O'Brien's picture): some say Korá Wahalkada = Pétefi Wahalkada, taking Kórá to be *Koraha*, the bowl of water in which the *pétefi* floated.

*There is a village Daskara in Udu Nuwara.

- b. Basnáhira Wahalkaḍa
said to be between Walker's and the Apothecaries' Com-
pany Stores, but probably lower down where Kaṭu-
kelé begins.
- c. Nágaha Wahalkaḍa
turn to the Town Hall, from Trincomalie Street.
- d. Ampitiya Wahalkaḍa
beyond the Tennis Court at the head of the Lake.

PASSES OR KAḌAWAT:

- I. Mahaiyáwa (Ná tree at end of Trincomalie St.)
watched by men of Halloluwé Muhandiram Wasam.
- II. Bógambara watched by men of Dolosbágé Muhandiram
Wasam. Kumáruppé (sapu near Pillaiyár Kóvil: also
called Hapugahagáwá Kaḍawata) watched by men of
Depaláta Muhandiram Wasam. Waḍugodaṭṭiyé Widiyé
Kaḍawata = Hapugahagáwá Kaḍawata.
Kaṭukelé.
Ampitiya (Diwuraṃ Bó tree).
- III. Buwelikaḍa (jak tree at junction of Malabar St. and
Lady Longden's drive).
Kaṭukelé.
(Kumáruppé Kaḍawata, also = II. v. Kuraáruppé
Widiya.
"Gonnuhawa" Gate = ? Basnáhira Wahalkaḍa, at west
end of town (so spelt in Board of Commissioners'
Correspondence.
Palládeniyé Wēwa was also known as Bógambara
Wēwa.

SITES OF WALAWWAS (According to Ratwatté, Basnáyako Nilamé of the Mahá Dēwálé.

Walawwa of Eḥelépola	Scots' Kirk
.. Pilama Talawwé	Pavilion
.. Migastenné	Old Jail
.. Arawwáwala	Diwa Nilamé's house
.. Ratwatté	opposite Dúlléwé's
.. Kapuwatté	Kingwood School
.. Mullégama	St. Anthony's Cathedral
.. Dulléwé	Queen's Hotel
.. Molligoda	Miller's

Eḥelépola's last Walawwa was on the site of Cargills' Store.
Government rented part of Kapuwatté's house, I think in
Trincomalie Street.

[*Extracts from Heydt.*]

APPENDIX E.

I. DESCRIPTION OF KANDY AND OF THE RECEPTION OF
DANIEL AGREEN'S EMBASSY.

[*"Allerneuster Geographisch-und Topographischer Schau-Platz
von Africa und Ost-Indien"* by Johann Wolfgang Heydt,
Wilhermsdorff, 1744.]

This town would be good enough . . . if only the buildings were erected in a more stately fashion Our entrance extended right down the street as one comes from the direction of Cananor.* We had passed beyond three side streets when our whole extent came into view and as far as I could see it stretched still further† . . . The streets are wide and straight; the whole town lies at the foot of a mountain, so that we always had to mount up towards the palace of the king, and as the streets are not all paved as is generally the case in such towns with us, they were often mightily torn from the violent rains which often fell and one saw in places great holes down into which the water ran. The ground is very hard and clayey, mixed with small stones called by the Dutch *capok*,‡ very sharp and pointed, and these make very bad walking on account of their sharpness. The inhabitants make use of this soil to build their houses: they smear it pretty thickly, layer on layer, and when dry the houses are proof against the rain.

Such a house survives a very long time, and as I have already said, they build them for themselves. They are only one story high and have small doors, so that one must creep through them doubled up. The windows consist only of small holes which they leave unbuilt in the walls. One sees among the Cingalese who live in the district of the Company finer and better houses than in the royal town of Candy.

After we had passed the 4th of the side streets which were all of the same size, as far as the top on the left hand side, to the second street, we had then on our right some large trees and a square with houses§ fronting to the street round it. We continued on our way until we came to two Bagahoh|| trees surrounded by square stones, where the Imperial Adigar or Athgar met us and received the Dutch Ambassador. He led us between the two above-mentioned trees where we discovered

* Gannóruwa.

† Apparently the length of the procession escorting the embassy.

‡ Capook.

§ Literally "stratified houses."

|| Bó-gaha.

several elephants, between a beautiful garden and a wall which ran down from the royal palace. They were placed there in a row facing the town.

The garden was surrounded everywhere with a beautiful white-painted wall.* At the side where we came in or towards the town, stood a long and quite low building, so far as one could see from below, at the foot of the palace steps.

The garden† was filled with plants of every kind, but one could not discover that it was laid out on any particular plan. There was also a round temple to be seen in it, representing their idea of a pagoda, as is their custom. But whether as is the case at Adam's Mountain, the ashes of a saint or of some aristocratic family remain buried under it, I leave to conjecture, or whether the whole square was dedicated to it I cannot say. For the rest, many coconut and areka-nut trees stood in this square. All along the wall itself and also at the trees on the right-hand side, which were beautifully grown, were posted on both sides Cingalese, holding in their right hands torches, and in their left, in front of the foot, lances about seven feet long. As each one swung his (torch) round continually, and as our entrance took place at night, the many circles made by the continual swinging gave a sort of impressiveness to the scene, and as it seemed to me, denoted a peculiar ceremoniousness and homage on the part of the people.

We were then escorted to the entrance of the palace,‡ round which several elephants of most gigantic size were standing. Amongst the others was to be seen the white elephant so much valued by them, which was indisputably the biggest of them all. A very old Cingalese with a snow-white beard was seated on this one, and other Cingalese stood before him with their pointed spears turned towards his trunk, so that he could not move. There we had to remain standing until the command came from the King that the Imperial Adigar should bring the ambassadors forward, which soon happened. Then the latter presented privately the letters of the Company, on a silver tray specially made for them. . . The presents were all brought up, even the horses had to climb up the stone steps, which were about 19 in number, and were brought before the King. This entrance is provided in front with a beautiful thick wall built of squared stone, carved. On the other hand, the rest of the buildings are constructed merely of the same kind of earth as those in the town. After we had passed through this entrance and a building in the interior resting on wooden pillars in front of which, as I could see, the King's people kept

* It still exists, no longer painted, a decided improvement.

† The Nátha Dēwālē was built in this garden by Narēndra Sigha, apparently after the visit of this embassy, as it is not mentioned here. The dagoba said to contain Buddha's bowl (see Mahāwapsa), which stands near the Nátha Dēwālē, was built by Wikrama Báhu.

‡ The Wahalkada (වහල්කද).

watch, we came on to a beautiful square or forecourt in the middle of which was a stone gateway which led from the entrance to another building.* This building was very long and fairly wide. The roof rested on a double row of wooden pillars, just as with us barns (or sheds) are generally built. Between these pillars stood beautiful guns, about 3, 4 to 4½ feet long, made of metal and resting on small supports. Some of these they had taken from the Portuguese, and some they had received as presents from the Company. The decoration consisted of nothing else than some old tapestries, but the empty spaces were covered with white linen only, and the pillars or four-cornered beams on which the roof rested were also wrapped round with this last. We went through this building and at the end of it out on the right-hand side: there we stood before another audience† hall of a square shape. This was the place where the king sat on his throne. . . .

The main body of us could now see, close to the entrance on the left and next to the building through which the upper pathway led, a narrow yet long building marked high up with a large figure 5‡. It had in the centre 8 pillars supporting the roof. This is the place where the ambassadors with their following, that is, with their accompanying Europeans, interpreters, lascars and slaves, are received.

The floor of all these buildings is covered with clayey earth, just as some barn floors are made. In those days, however, when a Dutch ambassador arrived or any other occasion was to be celebrated, the floor was smeared over thinly with cow-dung which made it very smooth, and when it was dry, produced a pleasant smell as of the herbs the animal eats.

(Here Heydt proceeds to explain his accompanying sketches.)

Further on there is to be seen a small tower resting on piles, which is visible from without as well as from within the courtyard. On the right is a long tall building§ ornamented with every kind of dragon and trellis work painted in red and yellow and having an entrance. To my inquiry what it was the interpreter told me that it was a pagoda in which Brahmins secluded themselves and conducted their prayers.

Every one of the buildings which I saw thereabouts was covered with coconut leaves or long grass, the latter is more customary than the former. One would more easily mistake these buildings for barns than for royal palaces. It is a pity

* Possibly the Maha Wāsala Maha Maṇḍapā (see D'Oyly's Diary).

† Literally "pleasure hall," but the English language does not recognize such an edifice, though it knows of a "pleasure-house," and of a banquetting hall.

‡ Evidently Heydt mistook the symbol of the sacred word Śri for the figure 5. There is some resemblance, at least to a hasty observer, not-familiar with this symbol.

§ The Daḷadā Māligāwa.

that the Cingalese are so self-willed and will not admit that all this, in the nature of things, must in time be superseded, while their king fears that strangers may spy out the land. For this reason the ambassadors of the Company were always rigorously taken backwards and forwards by night, and the rest of the time were obliged to make their halt at Cananor, which was a resting place built for them, situated two hours from Candy. The ambassadors were in those days accompanied on the way there and back again by many court servants.

Some years before us a Captain Snow, a Swede by birth, who served under the Company, was sent to this same Court and as he was a very inquisitive man, he took a sea-compass with him and fixed it above in his *hantol* or sedan-chair so that he could always see which direction they were travelling in. This is supposed to have been discovered by one of the King's servants on the return journey as the Company was traversing the country. A very bad face was put on this for him, as I have been told, and the King of Candy would not have rewarded his curiosity in the kindest way if he had still been in his country and under his dominion. On account of it he was afterwards sent to Batavia to make his defence there. When I came to Batavia, I myself served under this man, who had then become a Captain-Major, on the very bastion indeed on which he lived. It was in my time too, after the death of his wife, who left him a considerable sum of money, that he returned to the Fatherland.

So it is strictly forbidden to undertake anything in those parts that may appear suspicious to the Cingalese. I have many times found drawings by attendants of the King of Candy, sometimes of the town itself in books, in which no architectural splendour was to be observed or any other articles of value portrayed, while in reality I have met with something entirely different (pp. 268-9).

[Heydt, p. 272.]

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE RETINUE OF THE DUTCH AMBASSADOR DANIEL AGREEN ON THE JOURNEY TO CANDEA IN THE YEAR 1736.

It is the usual thing that on behalf of the Company an embassy should be sent yearly to the King of Candy with presents, not only to renew the bond already existing between them, but also to request from him whatever tended to the promotion of trade.

Such an embassy would be as far as possible fitted out with every possible stateliness and ostentation, and therefore would be dubbed by many "the Colombo Kirmes," because of the many ceremonies and the great uproar it created. Although

one was sent off every year to the Company by the King of Candy, yet it did not approach this embassy of the Company's in size.

Although under the rule of Governor Von Dumburg, sedition had sprung up in the Island of Ceylon . . many of the malcontents in my following had promised to withdraw from it . . . After Herr Gustav Wilhelm von Imhof stepped into the place of Von Dumburg as Governor on his death, he gave himself every imaginable trouble to set aside the existing disagreements between the Company and the King of Candy and to abolish them.

He selected therefore Daniel Agreen to go as ambassador to Candea, to whom at that time the Dissavonay of the Columbo Districts was entrusted, and who had already conducted three embassies there: who, as a man to whom the peculiarities and natural inclinations of the Cingalese were very well known, knew how to ingratiate them, and, as he by no means allowed the presents for the dependents of the Court of Candea which were for the purpose of aiding his cause, to fall short, his embassy had a desirable ending. As he occupied an important post, being the first administrator of all Dutch appointments in Colombo, and as so important a man had not been sent to that court for many years, the equipage and presents of the Company had to be arranged in accordance with his standing.

So the 9th November, 1736, was chosen for his leaving Columbo for Candea, after the presents of the Company had been packed up and ready for some time. It is usual in these parts to wrap up all the chests and cases in which such offerings are packed with white linen and this applies even to the carrying poles. Of beautiful clothes with which the ambassadors are expected to provide themselves, there is no stint. Although those of the Company receive a considerable sum of money to defray their personal gifts to the court attendants as well as other expenses connected with them, still this is not nearly enough to include all that they must pay out on such a journey. So, after all had been arranged for the very best, we set forth from Colombo on the 9th of November, a well-ordered following, to the sound of drums, trumpets, tamleniers* and other instruments and the thunder of guns, in such magnificence as if we were to appear before the King. There were in the embassy many Europeans, namely the Ambassador himself, a second Ambassador, a Secretary and a Book-keeper, myself as Corporal with eight soldiers under me and controller over the Ambassador's luggage, baggage and slaves, an Equerry over the three horses for the King which had magnificent trappings decorated with silver on them, and one of which was shod with silver shoes; a sailor who had charge of two hounds which had come a short time before from Persia and which were of an extraordinary size and shape, rather like

* Dutch Tamboelijntie, diminutive of tamboelijn—tamborine (see *Journal* Vol. X, p. 168, note).

English mastiffs with black jowls and yellow coats. They wore beautiful collars and chains of chased silver. One of these hounds died during the first night by reason of his size and fatness, having become too heated and exhausted. When we reached the first resting place in the country of the King of Candea, three shaggy water dogs, also wearing silver collars and chains were put in his place, after we had ascertained from the court chiefs that they would be acceptable to the King.

One hour away from Colombo on the Grand Pass and then the last entertainment was given to the Ambassador and his suite by the Governor, and after the usual ceremonies and the completion of our final preparations, we set out on our march and reached Hangwelle on the same day. We passed the night there. We were hospitably received by the Commandant there, who was an Ensign. The next day we marched as far as Cituaque under escort of two companies as on the first day. Here again a splendid meal was prepared, and after partaking of it we bade farewell to these, as ordered in the name of the Company, and set out over the border, which we did at the firing off three times of the small arms of the two companies above mentioned, answering them by our small forces instead of a note of thanks, until we had arrived right up to the resting place of Cituaque where from this time our daily subsistence would be obtained from the King of Candea. Anticipating that the latter would not be arranged in accordance with European notions, we had provided ourselves liberally with all kinds of necessaries.

We stayed until the 27th of November, and during this time we received a daily visit from the great ones of the Court who inquired after the welfare of the ambassadors, as also of the Governor at Colombo. We received among others many presents of estates. We then went on and came the same day to Ruanella.

On the 28th we proceeded once more on our journey and reached Hittimully, where we stayed the night, and came into Cawelicarapa on the 29th.

On the 30th we went on our way and reached Atipetty, which is a place where the ambassadors generally must lie quiet for a time, which now for fourteen days was our fate. I must here recollect to mention that we marched away from Cituaque with 22 elephants, which went out at the same hour every morning, and so as we entered a halting place they stood as if on parade in a row along which we had had to pass. These were decorated with different little bells, which as they went along made a harmony as if one had bells playing a tune. They remained with us up to the last halting place. The remainder of the expedition was arranged as I have described here, and as I surveyed it from a good distance in many different places, and it was in this manner:—

(1) came the elephants and afterwards followed at once (2) the ambassadors' baggage together with ours, then (3)

came 30 and odd men with spring hanen, which are weapons such as those with which we chop *doppel*, and which every time we entered a halting place lay in a row on forks, and were discharged in such good order that I was quite astounded. (4) Next came a goodly number with flints, and another with bows and arrows, and still another with pikes. After these followed (5) the tamliniers, the drummers, trumpeters and other similar wind-instrument players, among whom one blew a curved horn which was about two ells long.

This music lasted without ceasing throughout the entire march and made a pitiable noise. Behind these came (6) the letters or papers of the Company which were steadily escorted under a canopy by (men of) four races, the letters themselves being carried by a patrician of their people, bearing them on a silver tray on his head. From first to last there were so many of them that they could not set each other free when necessary. In front and behind they were covered by our militia, amongst whom many little standards were to be seen carried by the King's people. Then came the imperial archers and some of our lascars. Next the Ambassadors, carried in their *hantols*, which in every case were escorted by our lascars and the imperial soldiers armed with pikes, and behind whom followed the gifts of the Company to the King at Candea. Besides each of these divisions marched some of the King's court chiefs, to keep everything in good order, and a party of the royal household brought up the rear. Here I must note that nearly 1,500 coolies or carriers were employed for the conveyance of the presents and other baggage, from which one can easily form an idea what this procession must have been in length and yet I have not included in it the above-mentioned tribes which were no fewer in number. On the march very few halts were called, and we had to go through water and marsh just as it came, even if it had been raining cats and dogs (*Helleparten*), as the saying is. We often, both on the outward and homeward journey, met with such heavy rain that not a dry thread was to be found on us. The imperial chief courtiers, however high their rank, may never allow themselves to be carried, but must always go on foot and that barefoot, because they are in no case permitted to be carried, that being the prerogative of the King. Conveyances are rare or unknown in these parts on account of the high mountains to be found all over this Island excepting on the sea-coast. Certainly this was a well-behaved procession when one adds to it all the music between the high mountains and deep valleys, and very worthy to behold. This order was maintained throughout the march. All halting places in every part were decorated with white linen; the bed-steads were finished with thin *brügeln** only, bound together. The ambassadors however had their field-beds and chairs with them, and our men also had to bring their bed-arrangements.

* I do not know the signification of this word.

At Atipetty we lay quiet until the 14th of December, and then at last we received command to start again. We came on the same day to Walvagatta,* where we halted for the night, and on the next day, the 15th, we reached the last halting place, Cananor,† which lies two hours away from Candea. After we had lain quiet there until the 24th, the ambassadors received command to appear at court and to hand over the papers of the Company. During this time the larger number of the people under my care were sick, and I myself seized with a fever of such a degree that on the third day I could no longer walk from weakness, nevertheless I had in two days by the help of a certain remedy given me by a Cingalese, so far recovered that I not only found myself able on the appointed day to accompany the others to Candea, but also shortly afterwards to join in the homeward march, which in fact ensued on the 31st, after the ambassadors had had their second audience and had negotiated with the King on the 30th December. . .

[Heydt, p. 273.]

III. RECEPTION OF THE AMBASSADORS BY THE FIRST ADIGAR

"and All That Happened on This Occasion. Everything described from life."

. . . as we came up into the town, which rises hill upon hill, not far from those two enclosed *Bagoda* trees . . the royal Adigar came towards us, as the First Minister of the court, to welcome the Ambassadors. He had permission, as a special distinction, to bring switchers with him, that is, six or eight Cingalese marched in front of him, placed wide apart from each other, each of them had a long whip with a short handle in his hand, such as, with us, shepherds use for driving their flocks. These they cracked as hard as they could, crack after crack, as if small pistols were being let off. This among them denotes great rank on the part of the personage so distinguished, and goes on so long as he is on the march, or wherever he may decide to go. I proved the truth of this myself after a time, because when we returned to Cananor, he had to accompany us by royal command, and now during the whole of the time while we were on our way to the halting place, the switchers never ceased cracking and whipping, and so long as we could hear him returning after he had taken leave of the Ambassadors, it went on continually, notwithstanding that, barring his own retainers, he was alone.

* Walgowwagoda. See note to Andrews' Journal of 1796, R.A.S. C.B. Journal, Vol. XXVI., No. 70, page 197.

† Gannoruwa.

This cracking of whips on the square where he first received us caused not merely amazement on the part of those who had neither seen nor heard anything like it before, but mad-denôd the horses to the last extremity.

I have already mentioned that among other presents for the King, we had three horses with us, of which one had remained behind at Cananor on account of a bad foot which it had got through sliding down over the sharp stones on a mountain as we travelled, but the two others were very magnificent, with beautiful cloths, resembling those worn by horses at funerals with us. One was of cloth of silver, and the other of blue velvet, and they hung down to the ground.

Although these horses were not very big, they were very wild, because of the training they had had, and when they heard the violent cracking of the whips, having perhaps themselves also had occasion to feel them during the course of their training, they began through fright to jump about so much that they could only with great difficulty be held by the black boys who were leading them, and at last they grew so frenzied that they got their hoofs in the long cloths, and tore and pounded these so thoroughly that hardly anything of them was left whole.

But through all this, though there was the greatest danger to the boys who led the horses, no intermission of the whip-cracking was permitted, but each one had to crack as hard as he could, and one of them, probably not intentionally, caught me on the calf, so that next day I had a sausage like a finger on it which caused me great pain.

With these ceremonies then the royal Adigar accompanied our escort for a good way out of the town before he turned back, and they are so self-willed that they would certainly not forego any of the honours on the way. At such an interview, between a chief courtier and ambassadors, they have a custom of spraying each other with rose-water, which was in round vessels made of silver with long necks and small holes at the top, just as our watering cans have, and which are specially made for the purpose. This happened again as we took our leave.

But the entertainment which they served to each other consisted of betel leaves together with Pynangh or arrack,* cardamoms and Gember, and little brown cakes of different kinds which were arranged on a silver salver, and after inquiries as to our general welfare, a short conversation was held, which was very tedious because it had to be continually interpreted.

But here we will stop and next describe the banquet with which we were then all regaled.

* Areca nut.

Heydt, pp. 274-5.

IV. THE AUDIENCE GIVEN BY THE KING TO THE AMBASSADORS.

. . . on the whole journey from Colombo to Candea I did not see one Cingalese apartment so splendid as this Audience Chamber, although no very great nor extraordinary decorations were to be seen in it. . . at the end of it sat the King on a chair about two or three steps high which the Company had sent to him among other gifts and which was made to serve as a throne. Whether it had a canopy or not I cannot positively say, because the shortness of the time allowed did not permit me to observe everything particularly, but this I did remark, that tapestries embroidered with figures were suspended over it, which appeared also to have been a gift from the Company. His costume was in form no different from that of all the others, excepting that he wore a black collar* round his neck, like what our females wear, only that it did not hang down so far in front. This sparkled somewhat and was probably worth a great sum of money, on account of the gems set in it. For the rest, he had on a kind of short shirt (Baytgen) which came down to his navel. . On his head he had a red cap of scarlete, embroidered a little with gold and having a round brim. This sat very small on his head, as is to be seen everywhere here† The rest of his body was wrapped round with a quantity of linen, just in the same way as other Cingalese, as already described. He and the highest personages of his state alone wore red caps, those of lesser rank had theirs made of white linen, but of exactly the same shape. The King on this occasion sat very solemnly in his chair, the linen he had round him being fastened together with a white belt, and as he was already somewhat in years, and had a thick, coal-black, curling beard hanging down over his chest, this gave him a noticeable appearance. The arms and hands were naked and also the feet; neither shoes nor slippers could I perceive on them. His colour was like that of the others, only a little darker brown, like the Malabars who are very black. He had a staff in one hand which most likely represented a sceptre, and in the other a white handkerchief. When he gives the Dutch ambassadors an audience, they must appear before him kneeling—the usual custom here. They then hold the papers on their heads, and these he takes off himself and puts on a small table at his left hand, but I am told he did not do this to the ambassador De Joeng who was sent to him by the Company a year before we came, because he was by birth a native although he had a European father.

* Sinh. මන්දේ (manté).

† Sinh. ඉපයියා (ipayiya.)

With them, the left hand is the most ceremonious, and they are so particular about it that they will not easily give it to a stranger.* But there is nothing peculiar about the right one. For this reason too, few stand on their right, except the body-guard, which for the most part must stand in attendance on this side. All those who are near the King must bind their mouths and noses with a black band of a hand's width,† so that no foul breath may reach him; even those who carry his rice through the streets and who prepare the food before him must do the same, and in the open streets no one must approach within several steps of the latter, even though the rice is still raw and uncooked. Within the chamber stood two rows of pillars or rather four-cornered beams, wound round with white linen, supporting the roof. Between these sat archers holding bows and arrows in their hands, and close to them and on the wall behind (the further wall) were very bad lamp-holders made of earth, just in the way *queridons*‡ are made with us, and on these stood small lamps made of clay and filled with oil, which had to light up the whole chamber. The roof of this hall, or rather barn, was covered with white linen, instead of pictures or stucco work, and also the two walls behind the pillar wherever they were not ornamented with tapestry. The floor as in the other rooms was paved with clay—smeared with cowdung.

When we had the second audience with the King, the royal Adigar had to introduce us to him, so that he and we might see his great glory. We had on scarlet clothes, tricked out with gold, and on our heads hats with wide gold lace, all of which even down to the cost of making them, were given us by the Company.

We stood outside the chamber in a row. The royal Adigar stood between us in the middle, and said that when the third curtain in the hall was drawn back (one hung close to us, one in the middle of the chamber, and one not far from the King), we must all fall down on our knees, which we did. As soon as the third curtain was pulled back, the royal Adigar, next to whom I had placed myself, threw himself on the ground so violently that I thought he would drive his head into it. He raised himself again a little, kneeling, with uplifted hands, and again fell down. This happened three times, and each time he called out in their own tongue "Long live the King." The last time he added that we were the spies of the ambassadors (this is what they call the escort of an ambassador), and so remained on his knees.

After the King had looked at us a short time, and we at him, he beckoned with the handkerchief, saying in his own

* Heydt has here got hold of the wrong end of the stick. There are reasons why the left hand is withheld, but it is not because it is more ceremonious than the right, but the reverse.

† මුඛවිධන්ධිනිමා (*mukha vadān bandinawā*.)

‡ *Cressets*.

language that presents were to be given us. After this the curtains were drawn again across, but we had to remain on our knees until the presents which were lying beside us, all ready to be given, were distributed to each one as he came next in rank. Some of the multitude had had to remain behind, because they were not fitted to come in and these received their gifts just as if they had been really present. The gifts were put upon our heads and so we went, after complimentary thanks, through the above-mentioned pleasure-chamber, where the guns stood, back into the courtyard. We were soon brought into that same long building, next to the entrance to the court and there regaled as shall presently be told.

[*Heydt, pp. 278-9.*]

V. DESCRIPTION OF THE BANQUET.

After we had received our presents, as related above, we were all feasted, but before I talk of that, I must first say what they consisted of. The Ambassador received a tame elephant, a Cingalese axe (sword) with a gilded hilt and a scabbard entirely of silver, with a broad ribbon attached to it, which they at once placed over his right shoulder, so that the blade hung down under his left arm, and this he was obliged to wear, after handing over his own sword to the slaves. They further received a bow-and arrow quiver, two beautiful big gold rings with many good though unpolished stones set in them, as is their custom; three different pieces of silk and fine linen, some combs made of ivory with artistic carved figures on them which their women wear in their hair; a little shell-like box* beautifully worked in silver such as they always carry their betel-chew in, and other little odds and ends such as knives, Pynang† pincers and such like, all very delicately constructed. The Second Ambassador received somewhat less, as also the Secretary and the Bookkeeper. For myself I received some pieces of linen, a piece of silk stuff, a knife and a penholder beautifully inlaid with silver, a sunang‡ or shell-box; the others received still less again down to the slaves, who each received at least a cloth such as they usually wear.

As soon as we had received all these things, we were led in to the now often mentioned long building, where a seat was arranged for the Ambassador, his Secretary and Bookkeeper, right up at the top end of the hall. The seat was as long as the width of the building, about one foot high off the ground, and covered with stuffed mats made of straw on which they sank down. On the right side, down the length of the wall, lay other small mats, on which we seated ourselves. But these lay on the bare ground. On the other side the Mondeliar or

* Sinh. පිංගුකොටු කිලිට්, box for chunam.

† Pinang-nut = areka-nut.

‡ Chunam.

First Interpreter, the Mahanrum, Aradge and Lascars or soldiers and all their attendants had their seats, just as ours sat with us.

As soon as every one had taken his seat, one of the King's servants came with a big basket in which lay many Pysang leaves cut into pieces. He then began to divide these up and to give to everybody a handful, which we put down upon our mat beside us. Then came another with a basketful of baked cakes of which he gave two or three handfuls first to the Ambassadors, Secretary and Bookkeeper and then to everybody else in descending scale of rank.

He was followed by a third, who handed round another kind of bakery, called by the Portuguese *ketery*. Each of the distributions was made by two servants, one giving to the Europeans and the other to the Cingalese among the Ambassadors' suite. When several distributions had been made, everyone, according to custom, took one of these cut-up pieces from the leaves mentioned above, on which he had left the food lying and sat himself down on the floor which had to do duty as table and chair.

These courses went on pretty often—pepper-balls, sugar, Pynang-fruits and so on; but everything was cold. After several courses of this kind had been handed round, a beautiful black drinking vessel, very delicately made, was placed before the Ambassador, filled with fresh water instead of good wine, and this happened also to the Second Ambassador, the Secretary, Bookkeeper, myself, the Mudliar, Mahanrum, and the Captain of the Cingalese in the Ambassador's train. The other Europeans however had to share the vessels, two by two, and the slaves were given drinking cups of common material. These vessels which the Dutch have named *gurgulets*,* because they have underneath a thick round bulge or belly, and inside at the neck many little holes through which the water runs, making a gurgling all the time, are exceedingly valuable at Colombo, because they have not the necessary clay there to make them with, and none is brought outside the domains of the King of Candea to be sold. We took these away with us, and the Ambassadors received several others of different kinds as gifts, it being well known to them that these would be kept with great care, and would be presented as valuable presents to their good friends when they got back to Colombo.

I have written enough about the household arrangements of the Cingalese, and will only add that while it is the custom in these parts, because of the great heat, for high and low alike often to drink fresh water, it tastes much better and fresher out of these vessels than out of any others. The water is so fresh in them as to be a subject for wonder, and as it is not so in any other vessels, it must be due to the clay of which

* He should have said "the Portuguese." The word for a goglet used in Sinhalese is ගුරුල්ලු *guruluttuwa*, which is from the Portuguese (*gurgulhar*, to gush out).

they are made. Everybody now had a considerable quantity of baked things, sugar and fruits lying before him, and we were instructed that we were to make not merely a show of eating, but also of fully appreciating what we were eating, so that there should be no annoyance caused to the royal servants through their noticing that we did not consume the food, as might happen partly owing to the constant laughter which we had to give way to among ourselves at the extraordinary sort of hospitality shown, and partly to a poor appetite for their dishes. In that case, they might very likely pass sentence upon us, whether the fact was as they supposed or no. We might thereby very easily have incurred many vexations, and this each one of us had to consider, seeing that they might easily for the slightest reason find a pretext for not allowing us to leave their country for many a long day. This was what happened to that De Joeng who was Ambassador there the year before us, and who was kept for seven months in Cawelicarupa,* the first halting place below Cananor. His people were probably not a little delighted when he received permission to go back to Colombo. The same thing might happen to us, verily for the slightest oversight, since besides that the whole country between Colombo and this place was filled with restless herds, an even greater misadventure might befall us. The Cingalese at that time already to some extent threatened us that when we came to their King's Country, or to Cananor, we would all be hanged or thrown in front of the elephants, which threats I have myself heard on different occasions. We therefore, because we saw ourselves prisoners as it were, behaved in conformity with the instructions given us by our First Interpreter, who had been often to this Court† and was an old, gray-haired, and, despite his black skin, faithful servant of the Company. So long as we stayed at that place we were allowed to send a messenger weekly to Colombo, so that we received back accurate information of all that happened there, with newly baked bread, on each occasion. Such a concession was not however granted to Heer De Joeng, as long as he lay at the above-mentioned halting place. He was allowed to write neither to the Governor nor to other good friends, no, not even to his own wife, who thereupon got so despondent about it that she promised the messenger who should bring her the first letter from her husband, a fee of several pagodas, a promise which furthermore she actually fulfilled. He himself on this account fell into a state of violent consternation, because he was no longer sufficiently supplied with provisions, but the

* Probably Keḷḷagaharuppé at Ratnivala in Māmidāwela, between Dodanwala and Balana ("Cawelicarupa," on page 42, lay between Heṭṭimulla and Attāpitiya, and is an error, perhaps for Dombagaharuppé, which is on the other side of the Maha Oya, i.e., towards Heṭṭimulla.—H.W.C.).

† Heydt elsewhere states that this was his twenty-fourth journey to the Court of Kandy (p. 168).

same on the contrary were curtailed, whilst his own had been already consumed and no fresh supplies could be obtained from Colombo as he was not allowed to send any more communications thither. Though he persisted in his endeavours to get the King to sanction such a correspondence, he was not even given a reply. It was just the same when he demanded an audience and his dismissal, and the place where he lay with his men was a horrible wilderness where the scorpions, centipedes and snakes as well as the great spiders left them no peace, and furthermore owing to the nourishment which they derived from the men, continually increased more and more, so that as one and all averred, every day became to them like a week and every week a year. All these vexatious things were set before us in a pretty lively fashion by our old Interpreter, so much so that each one willingly lived according to his instructions, not only the Envoy, who likewise did his best so to admonish us that he might suffer no vexation on our account, but all the rest of us too, made it our care to eat and drink what would certainly have tasted well to us if it had been in the least bit good. One or other of the royal servants came invariably and asked in their language how it tasted. Thereupon we gave them to understand that it was very good, but in our hearts we knew it was a lie. They asked us further whether we wanted more and so forth. As there were enough attendants there, and as we could gather from their clothing, they were simply Court grandees who had thus questioned us. Our Interpreter too confirmed this. As soon as we thought we had sat long enough (for it comes hard to a European to sit so long on the ground with outstretched legs), the Envoy got up, and a long conversation was carried on between him and the Court grandees who apologized for the wretched hospitality shown him and besought us to be content as their country could furnish nothing better. Our slaves came immediately on our rising and took each the food his master had left and put it in a cloth to carry home with him. The Envoy as well as all of us displayed by our outward show a great pleasure at the honour we had there received and enjoyed, and after a long conversation we made our retreat once more to the halting place usually assigned us, Cananor, whither several of them, who had a large retinue, accompanied us, returning therefrom to report everything to the King. As soon as the second audience was over and we had received our presents, permission was at once given us to return home, which we forthwith acted upon. We had everything packed immediately and the next day we took our march under the escort of the royal Adigars and other Dissavas, and keeping up a continuous conversation, which, as stated above, lasted for about an hour's journey beyond Cananor where they accompanied us so far on the return journey to Colombo. They then took leave of us, with the exception of a few who were assigned to us, and betook themselves back to Candea, but the others remained with us till near Cituaque where they likewise parted from us,

after they had first been once more presented with gifts by us and sprinkled with rose water, which happens at each meeting as already mentioned. They accordingly made their way to the Court and we ours to the territory of the Company, where already a Comusando was waiting, sent to meet us from Colombo and to accompany us the rest of the journey home, which was very pleasant and gratifying to every one of us. Several persons were very ill and two indeed had to be carried. Our retinue had decreased so greatly that it could no longer be compared with the one with which we had originally set out, and inasmuch as we had also left behind our presents, consumed the eatables, and drunk all our wine, beer and brandy, our baggage was considerably lightened, so that we accomplished the whole journey from Candea to Colombo in seven days, having left Cananor on the last day of December, 1736, and reaching Colombo the 6th of January, 1737. But altogether we were away for one month and two days, from 9th November, 1736, to 6th January, 1737. Concerning the rest of the adventures and great exertions which we were put to, not only on this journey, but also at the halting places where we were obliged to remain on the way, all of which I have sketched as far as the time allows, there would still be much to mention, but I will reserve this for another opportunity.*

* This intention Heydt does not seem to have fulfilled.

AN INSCRIPTION OF GAJA BĀHU II.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

This slab-pillar stands in an open space adjoining a paddy field at Kapuru Veḍu Oya in the Laggala Pallésiya Pattuwa of Mátalé District, a few yards to the north of the path leading from Raṇamuré to Wilgomuwa, and about 1½ miles to the east of Moragaha Ulpota, the first village below the hills.

It is 3 feet 8 inches in height, and 1 foot 4 inches in breadth, by 8 inches in depth: the top has been damaged, having been used by the cultivators as a whet-stone.

Mr. S. M. Burrows, Assistant Government Agent for the Mátalé District from 1887 to 1890 and again in 1896, is said to have ordered the pillar to be raised from its then fallen position; but his Diaries do not show that he ever went nearer to Kapuru Veḍu Oya than Heṭṭipola, two miles away.

The inscription does not form part of the records of the Archæological Commission, and is now published for the first time (Plate I).*

The subject is the grant of immunities to a village, the name of which appears at the foot of the southern side (B) of the pillar; but is now illegible.

The grantor is King Gaja Bāhu II., who reigned from about A.D. 1131 till 1153, when he abdicated in favour of Parākrama Bāhu I. The Inscription is unique as being the only Sinhalese grant of this King known, though his name appears in the Dimbulágala (Márávidiyé) Cave Inscription No. 3, recording a dedication by his mother;†

* The negative and estampage are being presented to the Archæological Survey to be added to the Ceylon Government collection.

† *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III., Part I.

and in two Tamil records at Poḷonnaruwa.* No regnal year is given, but, as Jaya Báhu is not associated with him, it may be surmised that it dates from a period subsequent to the death of that Ruler, whose last known year is his thirty-eighth, A.D. 1145-6.†

The style of the grant closely follows that of the Tenth Century inscriptions. The language is interesting as being Sinhalese in the last stage of development before the infusion of Sanskrit, which became fashionable in consequence of the revival of learning under Parákrama Báhu I.

Side A: line 7. The title *Chakravarti* (Sip. *Sakviti*) appears in the Tamil Inscription of Vijaya Báhu I. at Poḷonnaruwa, in which that King's titles read *Ko Śrī Saṅghabodhivarmaṇ Chakravartikaḷ Śrī Vijaya Báhu Dévar*; and in the Budumuttáwa record of the eighth year of *Śrī Apáya Silámega Chakravarttikaḷ Śrī Jaya Báhu Dévar*‡. Its use here, therefore, is in accordance with the usage of the period.

Lines 10, 11. The expression *Polonnēkuru-vá Vijaya-rāja-puraya* is also the exact counterpart of *Pulanari-yāpa Vijayarāja-puram* in Vijaya Báhu's Inscription above referred to. The title presumably was given to Poḷonnaruwa by Vijaya Báhu himself to replace the Chóla name *Jana-nátha-puram*.§ Later on it gave way, under Niṣṣaṅka Malla, to *Kāliṅgapuraya*.||

Line 17. *Vaykunta* is perhaps the same as *Vaikunṭha*, an epithet of Viṣṇu. In view of the almost invariable presence of a shrine of this god in *vihārés* this interpretation is not improbable.

Side B: lines 1-2. The worn *aksharas* read ௪௩, ௩ or ௩, ௪ or ௪, and possibly ௫. It is suggested that the first read

* *Archæological Survey, Annual Report, 1907*, p. 37: 1909, pp. 26, 27.

† *Ibid* 1909, pp. 26, 27.

‡ *Ibid* 1911-12, p. 111 and No. 94.

§ *Ibid* 1906, p. 27: 1909, p. 27.

|| Galpota Inscription, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II., No. 17; B, line 7

peti, "images," which suits the sense. The reading *peti piḷima kaḷa pūjā* is tempting, but seems hardly warranted by the estampage.

Lines 3-5. The meaning here is very obscure. Mr. H. C. P. Bell, late Archæological Commissioner, is inclined to suspect names; and the translation has been rendered accordingly. If the reading *Raṅg dā-ge* in line 16 is correct, the names occur, at least in part, twice.

Lines 13-15. For *Melāndurehi ā-vū*, Mr. Bell proffers the possible alternative reading *Melāndu abhidu*.

Side C: line 1. In another estampage the second *akshara* appears clearly as *vū*. We have, therefore, two parallel sentences: *Raṅgi dā-ge Hinābi hinda-vū pamuṇu denneyi* in *B*, lines 4-7; and *Raṅg dā-ge vū [v̐ras]tha pamuṇu koṭa dī* in *B*, lines 16-17, and *C*, lines 1-2.

Line 2. The only orthographical error in the whole record is the omission of the *ṣ* at the end of *sata*. This is clearly meant for *satara* and has been so translated.

Lines 8, 9, 11, 12. *Arakkamaṇṇ* stands for the usual *Araksamaṇṇ*. *Maṅgivē piyaṅgivē* and *Melāṭṣhī* should be compared with the forms prevalent in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries. These are: *maṅgdiv piyadiv*, *maṅgdiva piyadiva*, *maṅgiv pediv*, *maṅgiva pediva*, *maṅggiva piyagiva*, and *piyaṅgiva* for the first; and *Melāṭṣi*, *Melāṭṣī*, *Melāṭṣin*, *Melāṣin*, *Melāṭṭi*, and *Melākshin* for the second.

Lines 14, 15. The *Soḷi* soldiers are, of course, those of Chóla descent. *Tuṇḍi* are perhaps the people of Tonḍi in South India. The names appear on the Timbiriveṇa inscription, where Mr. Wickremasinghe has read *Soḷi Pāṇḍi*,* but the plate seems to agree with the reading in our record.

Line 17. *Uvarapa* usually equals *upakarapa* with the meanings "implements, materials, means; provisions for a journey; insignia of royalty" (Clough). These seem in-

* *Ep. Zeyl.* Vol. II., No. 3. [As to *Tuṇḍi*, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV., pp. 21-23, which appeared after the present Paper went to press.—B.]

applicable here; though the sentence possibly may mean "materials (for food)," that is, "food-producing trees, such as palmyras, coconut trees and the like." The word, however, has been taken as composed of *uva* (Skt. *upa*), and *arana* (Skt. *aranya*), with the same meaning as *upavana*, "kind of garden, grove, wilderness bordering a village" (Clough).

Sidē D: lines 7-8. The reading *adha[mī]n* "unjustly," which suits the sense, is that suggested by A. Mendis Gunasēkara, Mudaliyār. It has been adopted provisionally, though the second *akshara* would seem to be written with the *hal*; cf *Meldāshi* in C, lines 11, 12, but see 𑀧 or 𑀧 in D, line 16.

Lines 13, 14, 17. *Sammata* normally means "general consent." Here, however, there can be little doubt that *sammata pahāṇa* has the same sense as the *samvatā pahāṇa* and *samvatā pahan* of the Buddhannēhela and Rambēwa Inscriptions, and *samvat pahāṇa* of the Mayilagastōṭa pillar.* The word has been translated "'edictal'" accordingly.

Lines 15, 16. The stone apparently has *sīḥūnā* or, as there is a slight mark inside the 𑀧, *sidhūnā*. The former word being a contraction of *sīḥu-unā* "stood," the sentence may read: "The edictal stone . . . stood as a meritorious act (reaching as far as) the *Brahma lōka*." The involitive form, however, is not in harmony with the Sinhalese idiom. On the other hand *sidhūnā* (= *siddha-unā*) requires some such form as *pahāṇin*; thus, "Merit (reaching as far as) the *Brahma lōka* was acquired by (means of) the edictal stone." The translation given below presupposes the omission of some such word as *sīḥuvā* after *pahāṇa*. It is by no means a satisfactory solution of the problem.

The expression *Bamba lo pin* has been interpreted with reference to the idea that meritorious acts are heard as far as that heaven (𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓).

* *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I., No. 16: Vol. II., No. 12: Vol. II., No. 11.

The question whether the *hal* is attached to the final \ominus and certain other *aksharas* is doubtful. In the word *Melāṭshī* in *C*, lines 11 and 12, the *hal* is certainly present, and is formed by the continuation upwards of the right side of the *akshara*. It is also almost certainly present in *Lak div.* in *A*, line 4. In the word *koṭa* in *C*, line 2, and *D*, line 7, *gamaṭa* in *C*, line 11, and *bavaṭa* in *D*, line 16, it is absent. Doubtful cases are *baṭa* and *aga* in *A*, lines 2 and 3, both of which are worn, *desaṭa* in *A*, lines 14 and 15, *dasaṭa* in *B*, line 3, *koṭa* in *C*, lines 14 and 16, and *D*, line 1, and *mekuṭa* in *D*, line 11. In these, as well as in *uvaraṇa* or *uvraṇa* in *C*, line 17, there is a slight stroke above the centre of the letter, which, if not a flaw in the stone, might be taken for the *hal* as formed in the Tenth Century.

In the case of *koṭa* in *D*, line 12, in addition, there seems to be *mātrāṇṣaya*, the word thus reading *koṭe*, a form which agrees with the orthography prevalent under Parākrama Báhu I. The correct reading of all these is doubtful; but as the *Mārávīdiyé* Inscription above referred to appears to have *koṭa* distinctly, I have ventured to read the final \ominus as without *hal* throughout. The variations *koṭe* and *koṭa* are paralleled by *vaṛe* and *vara* in *C*, lines 6 and 9.

Mutatis mutandis the translation follows the rendering of similar inscriptions published by Mr. Wickremasinghe in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

Text.

A. East.

Text.	Transcript.
1 ඔක(වස්) [රජප](රජ)රෙ	1 Oká(vas) [rajapa](rapu)re-
2 න් බට කුන් ඔසබ	2 n baṭa Keṭ osaba-
3 නට අත මෙහෙසු	3 naṭa aga mehesu-
4 න් බුලන් දිවි පොළො	4 n-vú Lak div poḷo-
5 යෙහන් පරපුරෙන් හි	5 yon parapuren hi-
6 මි රජ පමුණු වැසි	6 mi raja pamuṇu-ve siṭi
7 අණ සක්විති ගජ	7 aṇa Sakviti Gaja
8 බාහු රජවාහනසෙ	8 Bahu rajapávanse
9 ඇමැති ගණ පිරිට	9 eṇeṭi gaṇá piriva-

Text.—Contd.

A. East.

Text.	Transcript.
10 රා පොලොන්නා කුරුඳු	10 rá Polonnekuru-yu
11 විජය රාජපුරයෙහි	11 Vijayarajapurayehi
12 චිත්‍රකූට මඩපයෙහි වැ	12 chitrakūṭa maṇḍapayehi vę-
13 වැ හිඳ රාජධුර විහාරා	13 ḍę hindę rājadhura vichārā
14 ගැමැ තන්හි කළමනාද	14 hęmę tanhi kaḷamanā de-
15 සට වැවසි පමුණුවද	15 saṭa vęvasta pamuṇu vadā-
16 රන සමයෙහි ලක් පුරා	16 rana samayehi laksha pújā
17 වස්තුකත ප්‍රතිමා ඇතු	17 vaykunta pratimā etu-

B. South.

1 ඵවු(පෙති).	1 juvú(peti) .
2 . (ආ)ම කළ පුරා	2 . m(e) kaḷa pújā
3 දසට ද පෙ	3 Dasata da Pe-
4 රැරැද (කෙ)	4 re Rangi da(ge)
5 හිනාබි හිඳ	5 Hinabi hinda-
6 වූ පමුණු දෙ	6 vú pamuṇu de-
7 න් නෙයි කිලි	7 nneyi Kili-
8 භු නාවිති ක	8 ngu Navini Ka-
9 සබල්නාවන්	9 sbalnavan
10 දක්වා ගජ	10 dakvá Gaja
11 බාහු රජපා	11 Bahu rajapá-
12 වහන්සෙ ව	12 vahanse va-
13 දළෙසින් මෙ	13 dáleyin Me-
14 ලාභුරෙහි ආ	14 landurehi á-
15 වූ උලුණුව	15 vú Ulanuyava-
16 න් රන්(දහ)	16 n Rang(dage)
17	17

C. West.

1 . වූ [වැවස]ට පමුණු	1 . vú[vevas]tha pamuṇu
2 කොට දි මෙ ගමැ සත	2 koṭa di me game sata
3 දිග්හි හිමි ඇතුරිවු ත	3 dig-hi him etuḷu-vú ta-
4 නට අත්තාණි කණ්හි	4 naṭa attāṇi kaṇu hi-
5 යුවන්තට ආ නාවිති ක	5 nduvannaṭa á Navini Ka
6 සබල්නාවන් වැඩ කිලි	6 sbalnavan varę Kili-
7 භු නාවිති රකුම පුරා ම	7 ngu Navini Rakuma isá Ma-
8 ගලෙ කොත්තා අරක්කම	8 hale Kotta Arakkama-
9 ණන් වර කුඩසලා දෙවන	9 nan vara Kundasala Devana
10 සාතුම් එක් සෙ වැ මෙ ගම	10 Satum ek se vę me gama-
11 ට මිහිවැ පියහිවැ මෙ	11 ṭa maṅgi vę piyaṅgi vę Me-

Text.—Contd.

C. West.

Text.	Transcript.
12 ලාච්ඡි රජකොල් කැමිස	12 lātshī rajakol-kēmiya-
13 න් දෙරුවන දෙකමිනන් නො	13 n deruvane de-kamtan no
14 වදනා කොට්ඨාස තුළි කො	14 vadanā koṭa isā Tuṇḍi So-
15 ශ්‍රී බලන් රැහැණ නො ගසනු	15 śi balat reṣeṇa no gasanu
16 කොට්ඨාස තලන් පුරි	16 koṭa isā talan puḷu-
17 පත් ඇ රුවරණ නො	17 pan ē uvaraṇa no

D. North.

1 කපනු කොට	1 kapanu koṭa
2 ඉසා මිනි කො	2 isā mini ko-
3 වා මෙ ගම් ව	3 vā me gam va-
4 න ගම් වැස්	4 na gam-veṣ-
5 සන් මුර්ච්ඡි ගම්	5 san muḷu-vū gami-
6 න් පිටත්කරනු	6 n piṭatkaranu
7 කොට්ඨාස අධි	7 koṭa isā adha-
8 [මි] න් මෙ ගම් ග	8 [mī] n me gam ga-
9 න්තන් ඇතන	9 ttan etata
10 අයුති එල්වා	10 ayeṭi elvā
11 මෙකුට බැහර	11 mekuṭa beḥa a-
12 නා කොට්ඨාස	12 nā koṭa isā
13 මේ කී තාන් ස	13 mē kī tāk sa-
14 මිමන පහ (ණ)	14 mmata paha(ṇa)
15 බඳි ලො පින්	15 Bamba lo pin
16 සිඳ්ධන (බ)වට	16 sidhúnā (ba)vaṭa
17 මෙ සම්මත පෙ	17 me sammata pe-
18 රැහැර දෙනු මි	18 reṣeṇa denu vī

Translation.

When His Majesty the *Chakravartī* monarch, King Gaja Bahu, who has ascended the throne, lord by hereditary succession of the soil of the Island of Lañkā, which is a chief queen to the Kshatriya princes descended in royal succession from Ikshvāku, was seated surrounded by the multitude of his courtiers in the "Painted Hall"* in Vijayarajapuraya, to wit Polonnekuru, and, making enquiries touching the business of State, was vouchsafing heritable lands granted by edict in every place in whatsoever direction pleased him, Kilingu Navini Kasabalanavan represented that, (? having set up) images including images of Vishnu (with) a lac of offerings, he was giving these offerings which he had made (and) heritable lands at Dasata-da Pere Rangi da-ge Hinabi.

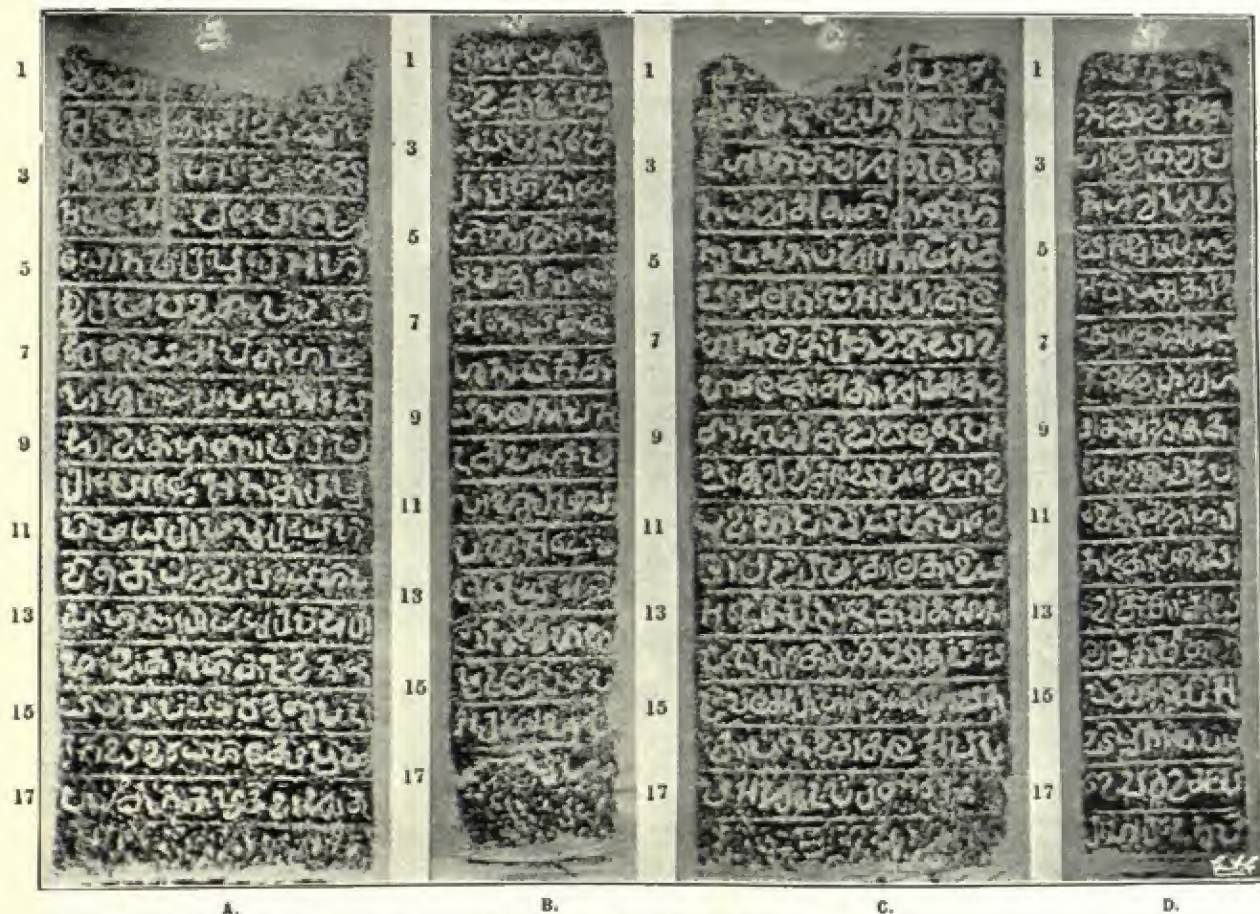
* Lit. "variegated," i.e., adorned with painting, carving, ect.

Heritable lands having been granted by edict at **Ulanuyavan Rang(dage)**.....in **Melandura, Kilingu Navini Rakuma** of the lineage of **Navini Kasbalnayan** and **Kundasala Devana Satum** of the lineage of the Chief Secretary **Kotta Arakkamanan**, who came at the command of His Majesty King **Gaja Bahu** to set up pillars of Council Warranty for the place including the boundaries of this village in the four directions, together (proclaimed the following immunities, to wit:—), that tramps and vagrants, *Melātsi*, servants of the Royal household, and holders of two places of business should not enter therein, that the **Tuñdi** and **Soli** soldiers should not noose therein, that palmyras, coconut-trees and the like and the surrounding woodland should not be cut down, that villagers, who having killed anyone shall flee to these lands, should be expelled from the whole village, and that, if any take these lands unjustly they should be driven forth and their property cast out.

The edictal stone (recording) these aforesaid (privileges has been set up, and) merit (reaching as far as) the *Brahma loka* acquired. To this effect these edictal immunities have been given.

I am very greatly obliged to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his kindly help in checking my reading of the Inscription, and for many useful suggestions, as well as for seeing this Paper through the press.*

* [Edited *verbatim et literatim* according to Mr. Codrington's MS. "copy"—B.]



INScribed PILLAR OF GAJA BAHU II.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

INSCRIBED PILLAR-SLAB AT NUWARA ELIYA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (*Retired*).

If one were asked to select the quite most unlikely site in Ceylon for the discovery of a lithic inscription dating back to the Tenth Century, the choice would, with considerable reason, fall on Nuwara Eliya, the present fashionable "Sanitarium" of the Island.

Even in the mid 14th century—and, indeed, much later—a pilgrimage to "Adam's Peak"—not a far-cry from Nuwara Eliya—that famed Mountain, sacred to many religious cults, through a stern country of rugged hill and dense forest infested with elephants, was an undertaking demanding no small courage, and involving much hardship and endurance: *teste* that much travelled Moor of Morocco, Ibn Baṭūṭa, who made the journey, in A.D. 1344, from Puttalam *viâ* Kurunégala, apparently by the Galagedara Pass, through Péradeniya, Gampola, and the present district of Uḍa Bulatgama to the actual ascent at Maskeliya—then obviously the more trying route, and speaks feelingly, of *Takir Bábá* ("the path of Father Adam") as "rough and difficult".

Less than a century has elapsed since Nuwara Eliya was a place mostly to be avoided, save by some chance "two legged miscreant" sportsman.

Hamilton's "*East India Gazetteer*" thus describes the district in 1828:—

Nuwara Eliya Pattna.—An elevated mountain tract in Ceylon, situated about thirty-three miles south from Candy. In point of elevation this region probably surpasses any other in the Island, as for a space of from fifteen to twenty miles in circum-

ference the average height may be estimated at 5,300 feet above the level of the sea.

Being surrounded by the tops of mountains, which have the appearance of moderate sized hills, its appearance is that of a tableland, elevated and depressed by numerous hills and hollows.

Beautiful as this tract is, and possessing a probably healthy climate, like the similar heights of Maturaja and Fort Macdonald, it is wholly abandoned to the *ferae naturae*, more especially to the grove elephant which, notwithstanding the coolness of the temperature, makes it his abode, being attracted by the excellence of its pasture, the seclusion of its recesses, and, above all, by the absence of his persecutor, the two legged miscreant.*

The location of a Buddhist Temple at Nuwara Eliya nearly a thousand years ago, is striking testimony to the religious zeal of the *Tapowana*, or Forest-dwelling, monks, who buried themselves amid utmost wilds, which, after a millennium, have become one of Ceylon's most easily accessible "Hill Stations".

There is no possible doubt of the existence of such a *Vihāra* during the period, broadly speaking, from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1000.

"Proof positive" is afforded by the broken half of the inscribed pillar-slab (now being safeguarded at the Nuwara Eliya Kachcheri against further destruction), of which the script absolutely refers itself to the early Tenth Century, though the name of the King by whom this *gal-sannasa* was granted is not on the lower portion of the stone, which alone has survived.

In June 1891 the writer chanced to be in Nuwara Eliya; and, having been entrusted the year before with charge of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon, a rough slab, said to bear letters, was brought to his notice.

The stone then lay on the bank of the stream, known as the *Talagala-oya*, "near the turning to the Jail" since defunct. The weather was, at the time, very wet, and little suited for the reading of an ancient inscription cut on

* An interesting account by Lieut. Watson, 58th Regt., and Lieut. Fisher, 78th Regt., of their exploration more than eighty years ago from Nuwara Eliya of wild country (which they named "Elk Plain" and "Horton Plain,") appeared in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* of the day, and *The Observer & Commercial Advertiser*, April 15, 1834.

grey granite, which had suffered much from exposure to the elements for centuries. But some attempt was made to take a provisional, if doubtful, "eye-copy" of the indistinct record.

Two years later (May 13th, 1893) the following brief notes were furnished, at the request of Sir E. Noel Walker, Lieutenant Governor and Colonial Secretary, then staying at "The Queen's Cottage", Nuwara Eliya:—

I see, by my notes, that I made (on June 26th, 1891, in heavy rain) a tentative eye-copy of as much of the weathered writing as is still at all legible on the stone—only the bottom portion of an inscribed pillar-slab.

The characters are of the 10th Century. Naturally very little connected sense can be made of a record so broken and worn. Side A contains "the Royal decree" (*vaddāleyin*); but the name of the King—doubtless one of the many rulers of the period with the alternating *birudas* (epithets) "*Siri Saṅg Bō*", or *Abhā Salamevan*,—is not ascertainable: it must have been on the upper part of the stone now missing.

This lithic record, fragmentary though it be, is of considerable interest, as proving the existence of a Buddhist Temple at Nuwara Eliya (under whatever name then known) nearly 1,000 years ago.

Since 1891 the inscription has not been examined again, except vicariously. In 1907 the Head Overseer of the Archaeological Survey, A. P. Siriwardhana (specially trained to copy old inscriptions), when at work in the Central Province, was directed to make an *estampage* from the stone.

The slab was then reported to be lying near "The Volunteer Barracks". The "squeeze" taken did not prove satisfactory, being too faint and somewhat blurred.

Recently, the Assistant Government Agent of Nuwara Eliya, Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, has wisely had the stone removed from where it lay, near the present "Armoury," to the Kachcheri premises. Another "squeeze" has been secured, of which a photograph is reproduced on the accompanying Plate II.

It seems most probable, from the wording of the lines on the side marked A in the Plate, that the inscription commenced on that face; was continued, to proper left, along Sides B and C; and finished on D.

The lines of writing, between ruling, still discernible, in whole or in part, on these four sides are:—A, lines 6 (covering vertically 1ft. 4in.); B, lines 9 (1ft. 8in.); C, lines 13; D, two lines traceable, with faint indications of others below.

Only the Text, Transcript and Translation of Side A of the pillar-slab are offered: of the probable contents of the rest of the slab mere suggestion must suffice.

Side A.

Text.	Transcript.
1. (...)ආලස(ර) සමිද	(...)Eḷasa(ra) samda-
2. රුවමො එක් සෙ (ව)	ruvamo ek se (və)
3. වදල එක් තැන් සමි	vadaḷa ek ten sami-
4. යෙන් කොහොඳ	yen Kohomba
5. ගැම(ව) ආලසර අ	gəma(ṭ) Eḷasara Ā-
6. (මිබු)නොර තලගම අබු	(mbu)nora Talagama avu

Translation.

(...) Eḷasa(ra). (We the above) Chiefs, being assembled together at (this) site, (declare) upon the order (of His Majesty), that Eḷasara at Kohombagama, Ā (mbu) nora, Talagama, Avu.....

Sides B.C.D.

The recurrence, not once nor twice, of *isá* (i.e., the modern conjunction *da*=English ampersand "and") points with high probability to the repetition on this stone of the almost stereotyped "injunctions" regarding the violation of Temple rights and property, found on nearly every pillar inscription of the medieval centuries.*

But—with the exception perhaps of the semi-legible "(*Melá*)*ṭṛi no-vadná isá*" (B, lines 2, 3, 4) "and *Mléchchas* (foreigners, i.e. ? Moors) shall (not be allowed) to enter (the Temple precincts)"—it would be unsafe to construct phrases from letters occurring here and there, which, albeit in themselves fairly clear, do not necessarily form part of familiar words, into which it is tempting to weave them.

* See "Epigraphia Zeylanica" *passim*, for these prohibitions repeated *ad nauseam*.

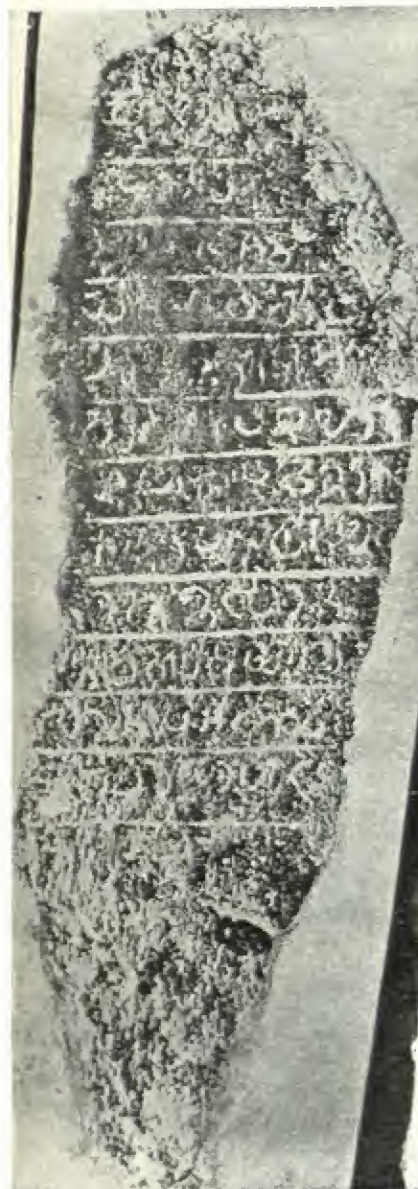
NUWARA ELIYA.



A.



B.



C.



D.

INSCRIBED PILLAR-SLAB

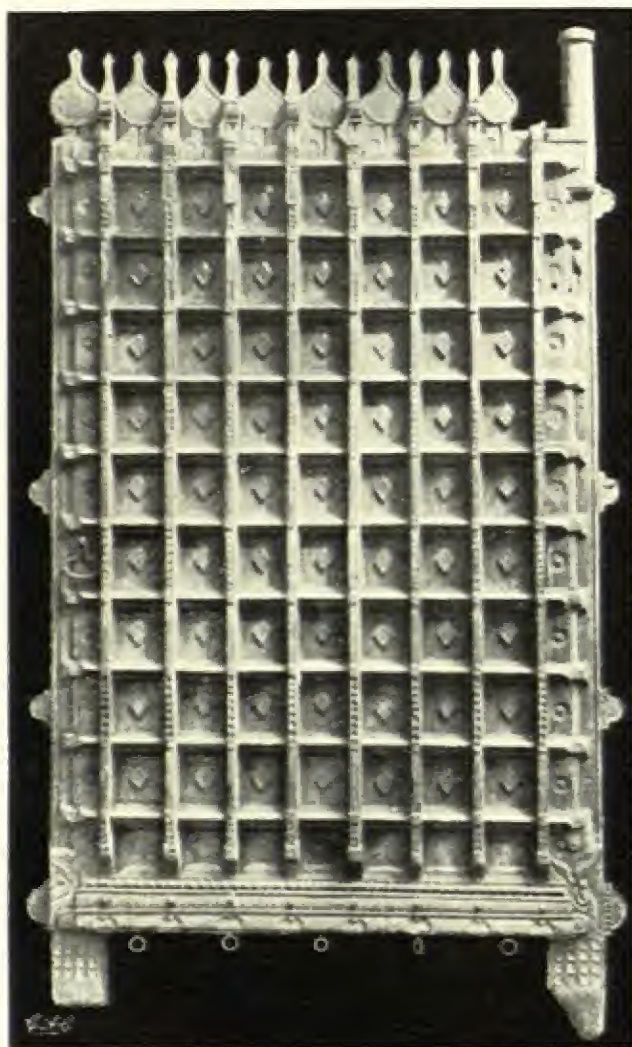
A PADALAI FROM JAFFNA.

The high enclosure of cadjan or *Ola* which protects the *Valavu* of the Tamil man of Jaffna, and which forms such an ugly feature in the country scenery of the Peninsula, is too well known to need further description. At the entrance there is generally a small portico, often raised on two pillars. This portico plays an important part in the social life of the Tamil, and at one time similar structures were common in the Sinhalese country as well. The gate almost invariably is made of palmyrah wood, and is called a *padalai*; the nature of the timber has fixed the general design, for the palm does not yield planks of more than six inches in width. The *padalai* is secured to one of the supports of the portico by a ring of iron or wood, and below it turns in a socket hollowed in a stone which is let into the ground. It is rendered self-closing by an ingenious little arrangement made out of a piece of coir rope weighted with a stone, and is kept closed with the help of a short iron chain.

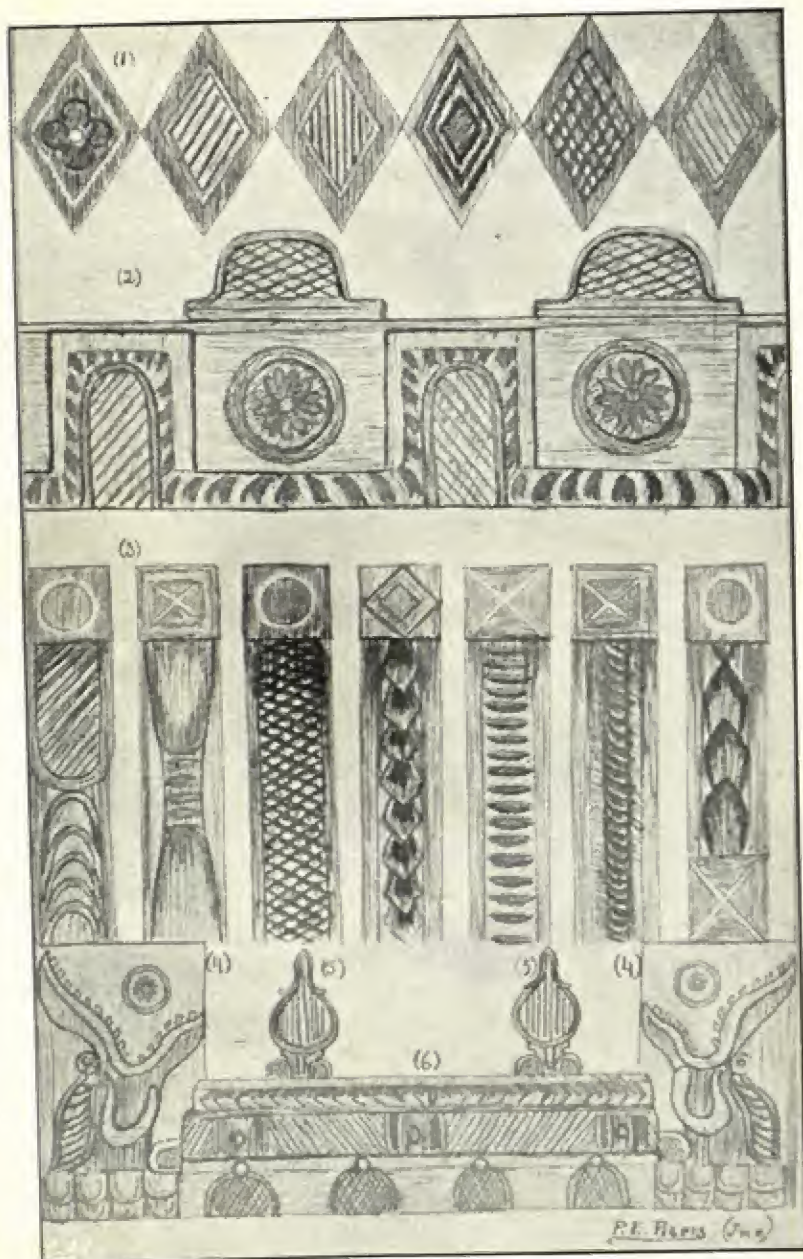
Plate I., which is from a photograph by Dr. Andreas Nell, shows an exceptionally elaborate and artistic specimen of a *padalai*. The greatest height of the original is 6' 6", and its width is 4'. This beautiful specimen was secured by me at Chullipuram, where it was found in the back yard of a wealthy Brahmin, and combines utility with beauty in a remarkable degree. No metal has been used in its construction except for the handle and chain, and the thickness of the timber is such that it cannot be obtained except from trees of very great age. "A thousand years in life, and a thousand years in death" is the Tamil proverb which describes the palmyrah. The nature of the timber has limited the size of the squares into which the *padalai* is divided, and which show an inner measurement of 4" only.

The artist—he was not an artisan—who made this *paḍalai*, has shown remarkable skill in using what is generally regarded as material impossible for artistic work—palm timber. The scale of the illustration, Plate I., does not render it possible to see the details of the work, which are therefore shown in Plate II., as sketched by my son. As in all good Eastern work, the artist did not starve his work for lack of imagination, nor confine himself to the narrow limits of a hard and fast paper design. For instance, note the variety shown in the detail of the diamond bosses, and in the partitions of the squares. Miniature *lingam* were attached to the five iron rings hanging below. The bases of the two side timbers end in *Makara* heads over conventional scales.

P. E. P.



A PADALAI FROM JAFFNA.



DETAILS OF ORNAMENT ON *PADALAI*.

1. Bosses. 2. Right and left edges. 3. Seven designs appearing on each upright. 4. *Makara* base. 5. *Bo* leaf terminals. 6. Design above the rings.



(99)



✓
H. C. V.

7

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